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THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH FOR LEADERSHIP

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BY
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To

B. W. J. AND D. P. J.

PREFACE

The need for leaders is recognized by everyone; it is also becoming clear that we cannot depend upon the laissez-faire method so long in use for providing the leaders we need. We must make sure that our leaders are trained and intelligent. This is not a responsibility of the school alone; it is a responsibility shared by industry, by business, and by the government itself. Then, too, there must be a demand for intelligent leaders or there will be no supply. Besides that, there must be avenues provided through which such leadership may be exercised—may be practiced—if any effective program for the selection and training of leaders is to be organized. Although this is true, it is clear that the chief responsibility for the selection of potential leaders and for their training must rest upon the schools.

There is abundant evidence that our secondary schools are conscious of their responsibility. They have always been agencies for the selection of certain types of leaders. But this selection has been too largely mechanical and unintelligent. For the most part schools have had no clear idea of what leadership is, of how potential leaders may be selected, or of how they should be trained. Recently some schools have begun to take the question seriously and are experimenting with various plans by which it is hoped that their need may be more effectively met.

This book has been written with the hope that it may be helpful in clarifying the problem, in suggesting ways by which the school may organize its program more effectively for the selection and training of intelligent leaders, and in stimulating research and experimentation along the same line.

In the selection of material much valuable assistance has been given by headmasters, headmistresses, and principals of secondary schools in England, Scotland, and the United States. Help

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PART I
PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER I

THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF LEADERSHIP

I. The Meaning of Leadership

1. The Place of Leadership.—That civilization is a race between education and catastrophe is a warning that has within it much truth. But, after all, it is only a half truth, for catastrophe is inevitable even with education unless the education is the kind that will provide a constant supply of trained, intelligent leaders. Civilization rushes madly on; the tempo of life constantly increases; inventions, methods of transportation, means of communication, labor-saving machinery are being developed with an ever-increasing speed that is bewildering. Change is rapid; the old is discarded; the new is eagerly accepted. The world "progresses."

But mere change is not progress. Progress is development toward goals that are socially desirable and individually satisfying. Such goals are brought to light and expressed largely through leaders. If civilization is to result in progress, we must have leaders that will guide us toward these desirable goals. Contrary to popular belief, intelligent leaders do not just happen; they result only from careful planning. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that society adopt some definite plan by which such leaders may be assured.

2. Elements in Leadership.—As commonly used, there are at least two elements included in the term "leadership." The first is preeminence: a leader is one who stands out from the group; he has some quality or characteristic to an unusual degree. This may be due to superior knowledge or skill or ability; it may be due to position or money; it may result from something that he has said or done; he may be the one who has said or done it first, or the one who has done it best. The other element is influence: a leader must lead something or somebody; to an unusual degree

he influences others to act, think, or feel. This direction or control may be conscious or it may be entirely unconscious. Some quality that he possesses may influence others to follow; what he says or writes or does or what he has discovered may appeal to others as wise or useful. To be sure, in the last analysis, these two elements are the same, for influence results from an outstanding quality—the power of expression, the effect of position or wealth, the strong or winning "personality," some characteristic that is rare. As a rule, leaders have both the idea that is unusual and the power to induce others to accept this idea. In many cases, however, these elements are separate. A man may invent or discover something or bring forward a new idea but may have practically no ability to get others to accept it. Another man may have nothing of his own to offer—no new idea, no new invention—but may have in a preeminent degree the power to induce others to accept the new idea or to use the invention.

3. Methods of Leadership.—There are two quite different methods by which this influence is consciously exerted. One is that of command or domination, seen at its extreme in the despot; the other that of democratic leadership. These two methods are clearly described by Tead:[1]

> Command is interested in getting some associated action which the commander wants to secure. It is an exercise of power over people. . . .
>
> Leadership is interested in how people can be brought to work together for a common end effectively and happily. . . .
>
> Commanders direct organizations and in so doing subordinate individuals to organized ends. Leaders guide and develop individuals so that they may the better share in realizing group ends in the shaping of which they will also share. . . .
>
> Leadership is the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable.

The same distinction is made by Pigors:[2]

> Domination is a process of control in which by the forcible assumption of authority and the accumulation of prestige a person (through a

[1] Tead, Ordway, *The Art of Leadership*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935, pp. 12, 13, 20.

[2] Pigors, Paul, *Leadership or Domination*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, p. 74. Used by special permission of the publisher.

hierarchy of functionaries) regulates the activities of others for purposes of his own choosing.

Leadership is the process of securing the cooperation of a group in working toward a goal that they accept as desirable. The difference may be made somewhat more distinct by scattered quotations from Pigors:[1]

> The leader directs and educates, while the dominator manipulates. The leader, instead of enforcing an arbitrary decision based on his personal wish or opinion, enlists co-operation by pointing to the requirements of a mutually desired aim. He does not use others as means to his end, but in joint action with his followers creates the means to advance their cause. Where the dominator commands, the leader requests or stimulates action by pointing out a need.
>
> In the exercise of control the leader is always eager to explain his actions if there is time to do so, because he realizes that this is in the interest of his followers and of the cause. Furthermore, he can justify his policy by an appeal to facts. The dominator, on the other hand, insists upon blind obedience as an indication of the follower's complete subordination to his will.
>
> The difference between leadership and domination is particularly clear with reference to the growth of power. In leadership power is created through the integration of diverse purposes and the intelligent use of individual difference. People agree to pool their resources in view of a mutually desired aim. Each is stronger for the presence of the other. . . . In domination, on the other hand, power is monopolized. A man forces himself to the front by sheer determination of will and the shrewd utilization of every favorable opportunity. He finds himself in an advantageous position and uses this advantage to control others who are temporarily or permanently susceptible of exploitation.

"Leadership," as described by Tead and Pigors, or "democratic leadership," as distinguished from "command" or "domination," is coming to have far greater importance as a method of social control than it has had in the past. It promises to be distinctly the method of the future. It is, however, not well adapted to a situation that requires speedy action and is relatively ineffective in a sudden and unexpected crisis. Both leadership and domination have their place and are legitimate and useful methods of control.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 98, 99.

II. Aspects of Leadership

1. Leadership Useful and Harmful.—It is important to remember that leadership is not always useful; it may be very harmful. Inventions or discoveries or ideas may be destructive as well as beneficial; therefore leadership may be constructive and helpful, or it may be reactionary and actively destructive. The same qualities, the same preeminence in knowledge, in skill, in power, the same ability to induce others to follow may be useful to society or they may be harmful. Leadership has nothing in itself that guarantees its value. The value of any leader is dependent upon three factors: (1) the degree to which the idea or invention of the leader meets a real need; (2) the degree to which the one who has invented or discovered the new idea (or someone else) is able to induce people to accept it; and (3) the intelligence of the people in selecting from among the ideas presented those that meet their needs or in choosing from among various leaders the ones whom they will follow.

2. Deferred Leadership.—It is well to keep in mind the fact that the acceptance of the ideas of a leader may be deferred; that is, a man may, in a sense, be rejected as a leader while he lives, but be accepted long years after his death. Jesus, Socrates, Savonarola, Galileo, and a host of others—pioneers, martyrs, in religion, in science, in statesmanship—come at once to mind.

3. Negative Influence of Leaders.—A leader may not always influence others to do things; he may induce them not to do things. A mob bent on lynching may be persuaded not to carry out its purpose. Men in a corner grocery store who "set and think, and sometimes just set" may be influenced by some leader to continue to "set" instead of beginning to do some work. At any time of revolution in government or religion, there are leaders who exert their influence for change and also those—real leaders, too—who try to prevent change and to conserve the customs that have been accepted for years.

4. Leadership Inevitable.—Leadership is not an artificial product of human society devised for a specific purpose; it is deeply ingrained in the very fabric of human nature. It is based

upon an elemental biologic fact, that of variability. All organisms have certain clear resemblances; the more closely related they are the more do they resemble each other; this similarity is, in fact, what we mean by relationship. In spite of this likeness, no two individuals are exactly the same; the tendency to vary is everywhere manifest in all organic life, higher as well as lower. It is this fact of variability that is the basis of leadership. The truth of this is seen especially in all gregarious animals. In the herd, the flock, the pack, some one individual stands out; he is a recognized leader. This preeminence, this leadership, may be due to superior physical strength, to cunning, to intelligence, or to some other factor. The same tendency is evident in man. Leadership is, then, a universal biological phenomenon; it is inevitable and inescapable. There is no question of whether there shall be leaders or not; that was settled when man began. There is rather the question of what kind of leaders we shall have and of how we shall so arrange our social order and organize our educational agencies as to have wise and useful leaders.

5. Leadership Not Suppressible.—Leadership cannot be suppressed; it can only be directed and utilized. It is probably not even wise to attempt to restrict too much the fields in which leadership may be shown. Social organizations have in the past attempted to do this. When old China adopted as her motto "Walk in the trodden paths," she deliberately tried to restrict leadership in certain social, political, and religious fields. The tremendous momentum of such a static social order carried China as a nation practically unchanged through a thousand years and more of existence. It has not yet entirely spent its force, but it is rapidly and surely disappearing. During all this time there was leadership; but it was exerted in a narrow field and exerted for the most part to prevent change. China made little progress. The same tendency is seen to a lesser degree in many other nations. Athens alone discovered and utilized the secret of progress—the way in which variability, the tendency of individuals to differ from each other, could be utilized for the good of the state. In Athens practically no restrictions were placed upon the fields in which leadership could be manifested. Not only

this, but Athens based her social and political system largely upon the same principle. Public questions were not decided by old customs or laws. Whenever a crisis occurred, the citizens did not ask, "How did our fathers deal with this?" They called a council and discussed the best methods for meeting the emergency. Each one was encouraged to present his ideas. Then the plan that was considered best by the council was accepted. It was the acceptance by the council of the scheme of the wooden horse, presented by the "crafty Ulysses," that resulted in the fall of Troy.

III. Sources of Leadership

1. Heredity.—Leadership results partly from qualities possessed by individuals and partly from social stimuli or opportunity. Leadership qualities are both hereditary and acquired. Undoubtedly some individuals possess by birth the qualities and characteristics necessary for leadership to a far greater degree than others. Heredity is a factor of extreme importance.

2. Environment.—This does not, however, warrant the conclusion that there is an aristocratic level in heredity out of which leaders develop. Bogardus stresses this point in his "Four Fallacies about Heredity."

1. It is fallacious to sum up heredity in the maxim that "like produces like." Geniuses do not always produce geniuses—far from it. Perhaps they do so very rarely. On the other hand, inferior parents may produce superior offspring; in fact, many of the world's geniuses have been the offspring of parents inferior to their children. It is incorrect to believe "that superior individuals must have come from superior parents." It is true, however, that a larger percentage of superior offspring arise from distinguished parents than from the mass of mediocre parents.

2. It is fallacious to assume that, although human "characters" are inherited, heredity is all-important in human affairs. Heredity has to be taken into consideration, but it need not be worshiped.

3. It is fallacious to claim that "characters" are not alterable by environment. If the process is often obscure, it need not therefore be denied.

4. Another fallacy is the dogma—widely proclaimed and believed by many in social, economic, and political power—that biology requires

an aristocratic constitution of society. If genius, special ability, and hence leadership may come from apparently inferior parents, a democratic organization of society is wise. The offspring of the inferior must not be condemned to inferior social levels by autocratic overlords.[1]

3. Training.—Qualities essential to leadership are definitely susceptible to training; they can to some extent be developed. The general qualities that produce leadership are largely hereditary though modifiable by training; the particular way in which leadership is manifested is due to environmental conditions. There is abundant evidence to indicate that without certain social conditions and stimuli potential leaders do not show themselves at all. "Leadership varies with ecological conditions." As we have seen in the previous section, the social stimuli for leadership in old China differed greatly from those in Athens. Any society that wishes to utilize leaders must provide favorable circumstances, wide fields, and opportunities for the exercise of leadership. There must be not only freedom to lead but stimuli that will bring out leadership.

IV. The Function of Leadership

1. Progress.—The progress and stability of any social organization—state, nation, or society at large—is largely, if not entirely, dependent upon its leaders. Society improves by the discovery of new ideas, new ways of acting, new methods of production, consumption, and distribution. These new ideas come only from individuals who are different, those who discover or invent something new. The direction taken by any nation is determined by its leaders.

2. Stability.—Leadership is necessary also for stability. Man has progressed, socially, morally, and economically so far from the merely physical plane that he is continually sliding backward. "Man aspires heavenward; he gravitates earthward." We maintain our social, moral, and intellectual status only by continual effort; without this, we tend to revert. Leaders are useful in

[1] Bogardus, Emory S., *Leaders and Leadership*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934, p. 38. Used by special permission of the publisher.

influencing us to hold to values already discovered; they keep us from reverting to a lower status; they also help us to retain the ideas and hold to the standards that have proved desirable and not accept some new idea or standard that is destructive.

V. The Essentials of a Leadership Program

If the foregoing analysis is correct, a program of leadership that is complete and efficient must include the following:

1. A method of discovering those who have qualities and characteristics that mark them as leaders or as potential leaders.
2. A program for the training of leaders so that their ideas, inventions, and influence may meet real social needs: both discover new values and conserve values that have been accepted.
3. A plan through which there may be developed in individuals real intelligence in choosing leaders and selecting from among the multitude of new ideas and inventions those that will prove of maximum value.

References

1. Bogardus, Emory S., *Leaders and Leadership*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934.
2. Pigors, Paul, *Leadership or Domination*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935.
3. Tead, Ordway, *The Art of Leadership*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS

I. Kinds of Leaders

1. Narrow Concept of Leadership.—Before we can set up any adequate leadership program, we must be very sure that we include in our concept of leadership all different kinds of leaders. One of the most conspicuous weaknesses in the usual discussion of leadership is that far too narrow a point of view is maintained. We too often think of leadership in terms of the lawyer, the statesman, the preacher, the general. Our conception of the leader is largely that of the man who influences other men directly by the force of his personality or by more or less direct personal contact. This is a very inadequate and incomplete concept. While leaders, in common with all other human beings, defy accurate classification into distinct types, we may for purposes of this discussion recognize at least three types.

2. Personal-contact Leaders.—First, there are the leaders who influence others more or less directly through personal contact of some kind. These are the politicians, statesmen, generals, lawyers, teachers, and preachers. They may or may not develop new ideas, discover new values. Their outstanding characteristic is not so much the originality of their contribution as it is their influence over others by direct contact.

3. Creative Leadership.—Second, there are the leaders who create; they discover something new, develop a new idea, find some new value. These men may never come into direct contact with other people; they may have no direct personal influence. They are the inventors, explorers, research workers—those who push further the bounds of human knowledge. Their influence is profound in all human history; they are essential to progress, but their influence comes from the discovery of some new idea, some new device, some new truth that meets a world need.

4. Musicians, Artists, Writers.—Third, there are the great musicians, artists, and writers. These leaders also may never come into contact with others; at least their influence is not due to any personal contact or relationship. Such leaders may create new values, or, through their productions, they may merely influence others to accept or retain old values. Leaders of the second and third types may exert their sway at once among their contemporaries, or sometimes not until long after their death. It is of the utmost importance that all these types of leaders be included in our leadership program.

II. The Necessity for Determining Characteristics of Leaders

The first question that confronts us in setting up any leadership program is, "What are the characteristics and qualities of leaders? Have leaders characteristics that are distinctive?" This question is basic in planning any phase of the program. In order to discover boys and girls who are likely to develop into leaders, we must know those qualities and characteristics that are indicative of future leadership. If we are to develop the ability to choose wisely those who will lead us, we must know the qualities and characteristics that are essential to leadership. In order to plan any adequate training, we also must know the qualities that we must seek to develop in future leaders. It is not possible at present to lay down any hard-and-fast rules that will enable us to select prospective leaders. There have been, however, several very interesting and helpful attempts to formulate such rules. Some of these will be described.

III. Subjective Lists of Leadership Traits

Most of the attempts at analysis of leadership characteristics are purely or largely subjective and also seem to deal with only one type of leader—generals, statesmen, and preachers.

1. Dearborn.[1]—Dearborn lists eight characteristics as follows: (1) intelligence, (2) initiative, (3) courage, (4) self-trust, (5)

[1] Dearborn, George Van Ness, Every Man a Leader, *Scientific American Supplement*, **84**: 118–119, August 25, 1917.

insight, (6) kindliness, (7) good humor, and (8) knowledge of human nature.

2. Ganders.[1]—Harry S. Ganders gives fourteen characteristics: (1) self-control, (2) fairness, (3) impartiality, (4) energy, (5) enthusiasm, (6) tact, (7) honest sincerity, (8) frankness, (9) positiveness, (10) decisiveness, (11) dignity, (12) likableness, (13) pleasantness, and (14) friendliness.

A comparison of these two lists will reveal certain resemblances and certain striking differences. There is in reality not a single item that is common to the two lists.

3. Zimmerman.[2]—Gerald L. Zimmerman analyzed fifty magazine articles and books on leadership and listed the characteristics mentioned. There were in all over 200 different qualities and characteristics. Most of these were mentioned by only one writer. Omitting all those characteristics that had been mentioned only once, the list was reduced to sixty-six. Selecting from these the ones mentioned by at least five authors, we have the following list: (1) courage, 30 per cent; (2) intelligence, 28 per cent; (3) vision, 26 per cent; (4) initiative, 16 per cent; (5) insight, 14 per cent; (6) personality, 14 per cent; (7) open-mindedness, 14 per cent; (8) knowledge, 12 per cent; (9) self-confidence, 10 per cent; (10) sympathy, 10 per cent; (11) energy, 10 per cent; (12) sincerity, 10 per cent.

4. Common Traits.—A comparison of this composite list with the two given above shows that not a single trait is common to all three lists. The following traits are found in two of the lists: (1) courage, (2) intelligence, (3) initiative, (4) insight, (5) self-confidence, (6) energy, (7) sincerity, and (8) kindliness or friendliness.

5. Subjective Lists Unreliable.—As has been said, these lists are largely subjective and quite unreliable. A more dependable method of approach would be to study the lives of many leaders of different types and attempt to find characteristics or combinations of characteristics that are common to all leaders or are com-

[1] Ganders, Harry S., Prestige, Loyalty, Popularity, and Other Accompaniments of Leadership, *Educational Review*, **74**: 205–208, November, 1927.

[2] An unpublished study.

mon to types of leaders. This could be done by an analysis of trustworthy biographies of leaders.

IV. The Pennsylvania Study of Youth

A study by Updegraff[1] makes a distinct contribution to this problem.

1. Origin of the Study.—The *Inventory of Youth in Pennsylvania* is intended to be the first part of an extensive plan for a survey of youth in Pennsylvania. It was suggested by a committee on higher education for Pennsylvania which was appointed by State Superintendent James N. Rule. Work was begun in July, 1934, and the field work was performed between October, 1934, and February, 1935. Because of lack of state funds to complete the work, the elaboration of the data and the final editing of the report were financed by the American Youth Commission.

2. Purpose of the Survey.—The purpose of the study was to bring together significant facts about youth and so form the basis for a comprehensive plan that would better meet the educational and social needs of youth and promote the best interests of state and nation.

3. Extent of the Survey.—The number of youth studied was 23,166 scattered throughout the state from forty-seven of the sixty-seven counties. There were two groups, one—approximately half—taken from the sixth-grade rolls in 1926, the other from the sixth-grade rolls in 1928. The number of boys and girls was approximately equal. If the progress of these youth was normal, the 1928 group would be in the last year of high school at the time of the study, and the 1926 group would have graduated from high school a year and a half before the time of the study.

4. The Selection of Factors.—If the data collected were to be useful in making plans to meet the needs of youth for further education and to promote the good of the state, it was obvious that some method must be devised to discover those youth who

[1] Updegraff, Harlan, *Inventory of Youth in Pennsylvania*, Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1936.

could profit from further education and who were most likely to be of help to the state. In order to accomplish this purpose, Updegraff set up five factors which might serve to distinguish between different types of youth. These were the following:

1. Socioeconomic (home) background.
2. Intelligence, expressed in terms of I.Q.
3. Emotional drive, including
   a. Energy, vitality, efficiency.
   b. Balance or control.
4. Social ideals, including
   a. Lawfulness.
   b. Social-mindedness.
5. School performance, including
   a. Last grade completed.
   b. Record in academic subjects.

These factors were determined upon after extensive reading and analysis of the problem. It was not possible to validate them either by reference to traits actually shown by adult leaders or by a follow-up study of these same youth to determine how many of those who stood high in these traits actually became leaders. It is, however, a very helpful analysis, and the traits selected may all be found in some form in the list selected by Dr. Cox as seen on pages 19 and 20.

It should be noted that socioeconomic background is not a trait, but it is an element that many consider very important in selecting young people who are likely to become leaders. Updegraff points out also that an environment that is classed as poor may be a stimulating rather than a retarding influence upon some personalities. The reverse is also true; for a "favorable" environment definitely retards many young people in the development of initiative, persistence, and other desirable traits.

Social ideals are traits that are very susceptible of development; hence, though they are desirable in one who has already become a leader, we should not take their absence or presence in youth as a reliable guide in predicting the future leader. Youth who have not developed these traits by the time they reach high school, however, are much less likely to develop them in later life than those people who show them early. Another helpful distinction

is made between constructive, indifferent, and destructive leaders.

5. The Measurement of Traits and Factors.—Socioeconomic background was measured by the Chapman-Sims Socioeconomic Scale. The elements included were:

1. Telephone in the home?
2. Home heated by furnace?
3. Approximate number of books in the home?
4. Father's occupation? (Mother's, if father not living.)
5. Mother attend high school?
6. Father attend high school?
7. Number of magazines regularly taken?
8. Number of rooms in home? (Exclude bathrooms.)
9. Piano in home?
10. Automobile? (Exclude truck.)
11. Phonograph?
12. Radio?
13. Is language other than English spoken in the home?
14. Number of daily papers regularly taken?
15. Live in apartment house?

Intelligence was expressed as I.Q. and determined from data secured from the school. Various kinds of tests had been used for this purpose.

Emotional drive and social ideas were measured by the estimates made of individual pupils by their classmates on a carefully prepared blank. School performance was based on school records. Complete data were secured on all these five elements from 6,059 individuals.

6. Criteria for the Selection of Potential Leaders.—The scores of all youth for whom full data were obtained were arranged in order from high to low; only those who stood high in all traits and factors were selected as potential leaders. That is, prediction of future leadership was based upon a combination of elements rather than upon any one or two factors.

V. A Study of Geniuses

1. A Study of Exceptional Children.—As early as 1913, Dr. Lewis M. Terman of Stanford University began a study of

exceptional children—those who were of unusually high intelligence as judged by various mental tests. His study was considerably enlarged and extended by reason of two grants from the Commonwealth Fund. Under this subvention, Dr. Terman began a more systematic study of 1,000 children, all having an I.Q. of over 130, for whom many measurements were made and observations recorded. Ten years later, in 1931, a follow-up study was made, the results of which have not yet been published. This study should give some data that may be helpful in determining characteristics that persist over at least ten years. If the children can be kept under observation until they reach the age of thirty or forty, still further evidence may be secured.

2. Early Traits of Geniuses.—Another part of the study more nearly concerns us here.[1] This is an investigation into the early lives of 300 leaders or geniuses outstanding in a variety of fields. One hundred of the geniuses were selected for special study, and their recorded biographies were carefully analyzed to find what characteristics or traits they showed when they were young. In all, sixty-seven traits were listed. Several judges read the biographies and rated each genius on a seven-point scale for each of the sixty-seven traits. If an individual possessed a given trait to an average degree—about the same as most people—he was rated 0; if he had it to an extraordinary, *very* unusual degree, he was rated +3; if he lacked it entirely, he was rated −3. Ratings of +1 and +2 and −1 and −2 were given as intermediate steps.

The leaders or geniuses were arranged in eleven groups or types as shown on page 18.

Table I gives the ratings for each group of leaders. To the original list of traits has been added the I.Q. This was computed for each group from the data in Dr. Cox's study by taking the average I.Q. for each group and assigning the following ratings: 100 I.Q., 0; 120 I.Q., +1; 140 I.Q., +2; and 160 I.Q., +3. In order to make it possible to compare each group more easily and especially to make the significant resemblances stand out, the

[1] Cox, Catherine M., The Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. II, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1926.

ratings were rearranged in rank order according to the averages of each group. For purposes of reference, the trait number of each trait as given by Dr. Cox is given in the next to the last column.

1. Artists

Canova
Hogarth
Michelangelo
Murillo
Raphael
Reynolds

2. Poets

Burns
Byron
Chatterton
Coleridge
Hugo
Lamartine
Milton
Schiller
Tennyson
Wordsworth

3. Musicians

Haydn
Mozart
Rossini
Wagner
Weber

4. Historians

Carlyle
Gibbon
Guizot
Macaulay
Niebuhr
Prescott

5. Soldiers (statesmen)

Cromwell
Garibaldi
Jackson
Napoleon
Washington

6. Soldiers (fighters)

Grant
Marmont
Murat
Ney
Nelson

7. Scientists

Agassiz
Arago
Cuvier
Darwin
Davy
Gay-Lussac
Laplace
Liebig
Newton

8. Philosophers

Bacon
Comte
Cousin
Descartes
Fichte
Hegel
Kant
Leibnitz
Locke
Mill
Schelling
Schleiermacher

9. Revolutionary Statesmen

Cavour
Danton
Mazzini
Mirabeau
Robespierre

10. Religious Leaders

Chalmers
Calvin
Channing
Luther
Wesley

11. Statesmen

Brougham
Burke
Canning
Cobden
Fox, C. J.
Jefferson
Lincoln
Peel
Pitt
Webster

The list of trait ratings was prepared with great care, and throughout the study Dr. Cox displays unusual precision and scientific ability. Every effort was made to remove subjective elements and to make the study as objective as possible.

However, in using the material, several limitations of the study should continually be kept in mind:

1. The possible inaccuracy of the biographers. While the biographies chosen were the best obtainable, it is not unlikely that the biographers have made mistakes in ascribing traits or in estimating the degree to which the traits were possessed. After a lapse of years, tradition begins to affect and color parts. It is also possible that traits shown by the genius only in his maturity were assigned by the biographer to him in his youth.

2. Unessential traits. It may be that traits noted were not those that were essential for success in the field of the genius's later endeavor.

3. Method of selection of traits. While the list was selected with great care, some significant traits may have been omitted, and some of those included may not be important.

4. Selection of individuals. Only those who actually became leaders as adults were selected. There may have been many boys and girls showing exactly the same traits who never became leaders. This might be due to their lack of certain characteristics essential to success but not included in the list of traits, or to lack of opportunity for the development of leadership.

5. Number of judges insufficient. Only two judges passed upon the trait ratings. Even though Dr. Cox takes pains to show the reliability of the judgment of these two judges, the number is much too small to make the conclusions completely reliable.

6. Specificity of traits. Finally, there is the question as to whether traits are general. Any trait shown must be shown with reference to specific situations. A general trait would be one that is shown in all situations where there are stimuli that might result in the reaction revealing the trait. In this sense, there probably are no general traits; they would not be desirable if they were possible. A trait is not something possessed by an individual, but a tendency to respond in a certain specific or general way to a specific type of situation. A desirable trait is merely a tendency to respond in a desirable way to certain situations. Two things follow: (1) A trait "shows itself" only when the situation calculated to call it up is present; (2) a trait may be

TABLE I.—YOUTHFUL TRAIT RATINGS OF LEADERS[1]

Rank	Trait	Artists	Musicians	Poets, novelists, dramatists	Essayists, critics, historians	Scientists	Philosophers	Religious leaders	Soldiers (fighters)	Soldier-statesmen	Revolutionary statesmen	Statesmen	Trait number (Cox)	Average
1	Desire to excel	2.9	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.2	2.9	9	2.65
2	Intelligence quotient	1.7	2.2	3.0	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	...	2.55
3	Tendency to quit tasks from changeability	2.1	2.9	1.3	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.1	2.4	2.9	2.6	34	2.47
4	Persistence in tasks	2.1	2.9	0.8	2.1	2.6	2.5	2.9	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.3	33	2.38
5	Strength of will	2.3	2.7	0.6	2.0	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.2	2.6	42	2.35
6	Mental work on special interests, pleasures	2.0	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.6	1.1	1.1	2.7	2.3	29	2.34
7	Belief in own powers	2.1	2.7	1.5	2.0	2.3	1.7	1.8	2.6	2.0	2.7	2.9	12	2.21
8	Originality of ideas	2.3	2.8	2.5	2.0	2.7	2.8	1.6	0.8	0.7	2.4	1.5	38	2.09
9	Forcefulness	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.8	2.3	1.4	2.8	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.4	60	2.07
10	Profoundness of insight	1.3	1.3	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.7	1.1	1.5	2.0	2.4	36	2.06
11	Work toward remote ends	2.3	2.6	0.4	2.1	2.7	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.5	32	2.04
12	Esteem of his talents	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.4	2.3	2.0	1.4	2.4	2.5	13*b*	1.99
13	Quickness of insight	1.3	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.2	2.5	1.4	2.0	1.7	2.4	2.4	35	1.94
14	Intensity of influence	1.3	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.5	1.2	1.7	2.5	2.7	26	1.92
15	Strength of memory	1.1	1.7	2.1	2.7	2.3	2.3	2.2	0.2	0.9	2.3	2.4	48	1.84
16	Keenness of observation	1.8	1.4	2.3	1.8	2.7	1.4	0.9	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.8	64	1.77
17	Trustworthiness	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.9	1.5	2.3	2.4	2.5	20	1.76
18	Desire to impose will	0.3	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.1	1.3	2.5	2.2	1.9	2.9	1.8	10	1.74
19	Esteem of himself	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.9	2.6	1.6	2.1	2.3	13*a*	1.72
20	Wideness of influence	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.1	1.4	1.2	2.1	2.2	1.9	2.6	2.2	25	1.71
21	Conscientiousness	0.8	1.3	1.0	2.4	1.3	1.8	3.0	0.3	1.0	2.5	2.4	21	1.62
22	Absence of readiness to accept others' opinions	0.3	1.0	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.3	1.3	1.5	1.2	2.5	1.4	23	1.60
23	Mental work on studies	0.5	0.5	1.1	2.3	2.3	2.8	2.3	0.7	1.1	0.2	2.7	28	1.50
24	Sense of justice	0.3	0.6	1.0	1.8	0.7	1.4	1.9	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.2	51	1.34
25	Loyalty	0.3	0.9	1.3	1.2	0.7	0.8	2.5	1.5	2.3	2.1	1.3	55	1.34
26	Bodily activity	1.2	0.9	1.1	−0.4	1.0	0.5	1.4	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.8	30*a*	1.30
27	Impulsive kindness	0.7	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.8	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.7	1.6	17	1.27
28	Aesthetic feeling	2.8	3.0	2.8	1.2	0.2	0.8	0.9	0.1	0.5	0.4	1.3	7	1.27
29	Sense of corporate responsibility	0.3	−1.1	−0.3	1.3	0.6	1.2	2.9	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.2	46	1.25
30	Excitability	−0.1	2.3	2.7	0.9	−0.2	0.8	1.6	1.1	1.0	2.7	0.5	43	1.21
31	Fondness for circle of intimate friends	0.4	1.0	2.2	1.4	1.5	1.8	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.1	1.8	15*b*	1.20
32	Pure-mindedness	0.9	0.7	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.0	2.2	0.6	0.8	1.1	1.7	39	1.20
33	Action based on reason	0.6	−0.8	−0.9	1.4	3.0	2.7	1.5	0.9	0.8	1.2	2.6	45	1.18
34	Common sense	0.5	0.1	−0.3	0.8	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.7	0.5	2.6	37	1.13
35	Neatness, accuracy	2.1	1.5	−1.0	1.4	2.7	1.0	0.1	1.9	1.1	−0.1	1.2	58	1.09
36	Cheerfulness	0.6	1.8	0.7	0.4	1.3	0.5	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.3	1.9	1	1.09
37	Family affection	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.8	0.4	0.9	1.6	0.4	0.9	0.4	1.5	52	1.03
38	Physical bravery	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.8	2.9	2.6	1.8	0.7	56	1.03
39	Desire to be liked	0.8	1.3	1.5	0.6	1.0	0.6	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.2	1.6	24	1.03

TABLE I.—YOUTHFUL TRAIT RATINGS OF LEADERS.[1]—(*Continued*)

Rank	Trait	Artists	Musicians	Poets, novelists, dramatists	Essayists, critics, historians	Scientists	Philosophers	Religious leaders	Soldiers (fighters)	Soldier-statesmen	Revolutionary statesmen	Statesmen	Trait number (Cox)	Average
40	Kind on principle	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.1	2.2	0.8	0.4	0.9	1.7	18	1.02
41	Balance	1.1	0.6	−0.6	0.3	2.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.0	−0.1	1.9	50	0.97
42	Imagination	0.8	1.8	2.8	1.3	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.3	0	6	0.94
43	Corporate interest	−0.3	−1.0	−0.4	0.3	0.2	1.0	1.8	1.9	2.5	2.4	1.9	19	0.93
44	Affection—same sex	0.8	0.8	2.0	1.6	0.4	1.2	1.9	0.0	0.1	0.9	1.2	53	0.90
45	Self-criticism	0.5	0.8	1.8	1.6	0.2	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.1	1.2	0.8	49	0.90
46	Punctilious behavior	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.5	1.6	57	0.85
47	Interest in religion	0.3	−0.1	1.7	1.6	−0.1	1.8	2.8	−0.5	0.3	0.6	0.8	22	0.83
48	Fond of companionship	0.7	1.3	0.9	−0.4	1.0	0.3	−0.2	1.6	0.7	1.0	1.4	16	0.81
49	Tact	0.8	0.3	0.7	0.0	1.2	0.5	1.1	0.9	0	0.7	2.5	27	0.79
50	Sensitiveness to criticism	0.0	1.3	1.5	1.8	−0.2	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.2	1.3	0.6	44	0.79
51	Constancy in friendship	0.4	0.3	1.7	1.6	0.3	0.9	1.3	0.4	−0.1	0.3	1.1	62	0.75
52	Introversion	0.1	0.3	2.1	1.5	0.3	2.0	0.5	2.5	−1.3	0.1	−0.1	47	0.73
53	Self-expression—action	0.8	0.9	−0.8	−1.5	0	−1.6	1.6	3.0	2.6	1.7	0.9	31	0.69
54	Sense of humor	0.6	1.8	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.3	1.0	0.5	−0.5	0.6	1.6	8	0.67
55	Physique	0.7	0.2	−0.5	−0.7	1.2	0.3	1.3	1.4	1.9	0.6	0.8	41	0.65
56	Pleasure in bodily activity	−0.2	−0.3	0.5	−1.5	0.8	−0.4	1.3	2.7	2.6	−0.6	1.4	30*b*	0.57
57	Affection—opposite sex	−0.1	0.7	2.1	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5	54	0.57
58	Fondness for large social gatherings	0.2	1.1	0.5	−0.6	0.3	0.1	0.2	1.1	0.3	0.9	1.2	15*a*	0.48
59	Reserve	0.4	−0.2	−0.2	0.8	1.3	1.0	−0.4	0.4	0.9	−0.4	1.3	59	0.45
60	Absence of self-esteem	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.8	−0.2	0.9	0.2	−0.5	0.7	1.2	14	0.45
61	Skill in sports	−0.4	−1.6	0.2	−1.8	0.3	1.3	0.7	2.3	2.2	0.0	0.6	40	0.34
62	Constancy in affection	0.0	0.1	−0.2	1.3	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.4	0.4	−0.4	0.3	63	0.27
63	Absense of worry	−0.8	0.3	0.6	−0.5	0.6	−0.2	−0.1	1.4	0.6	0.5	1.0	5	0.22
64	Absence of oscillation—cheerfulness and depression	0.5	−0.8	−1.5	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.9	0.3	−0.2	0.8	2	0.16
65	Conventionality	−0.8	−0.5	−1.0	−0.2	0.2	0.3	−0.5	0.7	0.4	−1.7	1.3	61	−0.16
66	Absence of eagerness for admiration	0.0	−1.3	−0.5	−0.1	0.2	0.6	0.4	−1.7	−0.7	0.0	−0.6	11	−0.34
67	Absence of occasional extreme depression	−0.2	−0.2	−2.3	−0.4	0.6	−0.4	−0.4	0.1	−0.1	−1.0	0.3	3	−0.36
68	Absence of anger	0.3	−0.2	−1.3	−0.7	0.2	−0.3	−0.3	−0.6	−1.6	−1.6	0.5	4	−0.49

[1] Adapted from Catharine M. Cox, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. II, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1926.

desirable in one situation and undesirable in another because of slight differences in the situations.

In spite of the limitations noted above, the list of traits and trait ratings shown in this study is by far the best yet presented and can be used effectively if due caution is observed.

3. Conclusions of Dr. Cox.—Before considering the table in detail, it may be well to quote two groups of significant conclusions made by Dr. Cox.[1]

1. Youths who achieve eminence have, in general, (*a*) a heredity above the average and (*b*) superior advantages in early environment.

2. Youths who achieve eminence are distinguished in childhood by behavior which indicates an unusually high I.Q.—150 to 200. The extraordinary genius who achieves the highest eminence is also the gifted individual whom intelligence tests may discover in childhood.

3. Youths who achieve eminence are characterized not only by high intellectual traits but also by persistence of motive and effort, confidence in their abilities, and great strength and force of character.

She further concludes:

The following traits and trait elements appearing in childhood and youth are diagnostic of future achievement: an unusual degree of tendency not to be changeable, tenacity of purpose; perseverance in the face of obstacles, combined with intellectual energy; mental work bestowed upon special interests; profoundness of apprehension; originality of ideas; and especially, desire to excel—ambition.

4. Significant Traits.—As will be seen, the table is so arranged that the most significant ratings are given at the top. On the whole, the lower down we go in the list the less striking the traits become; that is, the less difference there is between these geniuses and ordinary people.

The first question that presents itself is: Are there general characteristics for all types of leaders—are there any characteristics, any traits, that are present to a conspicuous degree in all types of leaders? If we call a rating of 1.5 and over "conspicuous," we find only three conspicuous traits common to all groups: traits 1, 2, and 7. Leaders obviously excel in these traits. Even if we take -1 and $+1$ as significant, we shall find only twelve traits that are common: 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 19, and 20.

Our first conclusion with regard to traits conspicuously shown by leaders would then be this: Leaders of all groups are character-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 180, 215–218.

ized by a high degree of ambition and desire to excel, belief in their own powers, general intelligence, and work done on special interests. To a somewhat lesser degree, but still to a marked degree, they are characterized by forcefulness, quickness and profoundness of insight, and intensity and wideness of influence.

One of the striking things in the table is the wide variation in the degree to which certain traits are manifested in different groups. Apparently artists and musicians do not have so high a general intelligence as do the other groups. In the trait ranked 5—strength of will—all groups show marked development (above 2) except the group of poets, novelists, and dramatists. In the trait ranked 6, the two groups of soldiers already mentioned are not conspicuous. In traits 4 and 11, we again note the groups of poets, novelists, and dramatists as inconspicuous. In trait 53, there is a great variation in strength: essayists, critics, historians, and philosophers are conspicuously lacking in it, while soldiers manifest it to a very striking degree. In trait 49, the only group that is conspicuous is that of statesmen. Another helpful comparison would be that of the traits of statesmen and revolutionary statesmen and also those of soldiers (fighters) and soldier-statesmen.

5. Ratings as Tendencies.—We should clearly recognize that these ratings are average ratings of various groups and do not represent the actual range in ratings of individuals in each group. In each group, there are individuals that have a given trait to a much smaller degree than the average. We should be very careful, then, in the rigid interpretation of the table and not conclude that because a certain boy does not show any given characteristic to the degree indicated on the table, he cannot therefore be a leader. These ratings are merely suggestive and indicative of tendencies.

6. Leadership a Combination of Traits.—As seen in the study by Updegraff, leadership is regarded not as the resultant of only one or two traits possessed to a very conspicuous degree, but as a combination in varying degrees of several traits. This is undoubtedly true not only of the various groups but especially of individuals within each group. It may well be that future

leadership in any one group may result from different combinations of the same qualities.

VI. Conclusions

We may conclude, then, that we should select as potential leaders and accord very special consideration to the young people in high school who (1) rank high in intelligence tests, (2) have strong emotional drive, (3) have high scholastic rank, (4) have marked persistence in work in which they are interested, and (5) have confidence in their own abilities. If, in addition, they come from homes where the environment is especially stimulating to them, and if they have decided social ideals of lawfulness and social-mindedness, the probability of their future leadership is considerably increased.

VII. Nature and Nurture in Leadership

The traits listed as indicative of leadership are partly native and partly the result of training. How much is due to each we have no means of determining. This much is certain: In many individuals certain traits are manifested to a very conspicuous degree at an early age—too early to be accounted for entirely by training. But the most important aspect of this truth is that all the traits mentioned are influenced by training, some of them to a very considerable extent. It also seems certain that early training and environment, even before school age, are of very great importance. If it is true that traits are tendencies to react in certain ways to certain situations, it is evident that traits can not show themselves and thus have an opportunity for development unless a favorable situation occurs. Early environment may be so arranged as to provide such favorable situations and thus not only reveal certain traits but develop others. Again, a trait like ambition, drive, desire to excel, is certainly not shown in all situations. We show drive only under certain conditions. This trait is directly related to a feeling of the worth-whileness of the projected action. Hence if we provide projects that seem really worth while to the individual, this

trait, if potentially present, will show itself and will also be developed.

VIII. Tentative Nature of Lists of Traits

While the present investigations into the characteristics of leaders are inadequate in many respects, they do provide us with a tentative list of desirable characteristics that may well form the basis for our leadership program. Future study and experience will, no doubt, considerably modify the trait ratings for the various groups, but we may, with much profit, use the lists and the general ratings even as they are.

IX. The Proportion of Potential Leaders

What proportion of our young people are potential leaders? It would be very helpful if we could even approximate the number of such leaders among the pupils of our schools.

1. Intelligence Levels.—There are many studies of the intelligence levels of individuals in and out of school, as measured by standard mental tests. While intelligence is not the sole or the chief element in leadership, it is nevertheless a very important one, and distribution of individuals according to intelligence levels should help us in determining the probable number of potential leaders. In Table II are assembled the results of several of such distributions, some being the actual distribution of individuals, and others the norm or probable distribution as given by authorities.

While the individuals tested in these groups vary from the age of six to twenty-five or above, the distributions have remarkable similarity. If we may take an I.Q. of 125 and above as indicative of superior ability, amounting even to genius in some cases, we can expect from 30 to 80 out of every 1,000 pupils to be potential leaders of a high order. This means that in a class of 100 pupils we may find from 3 to 8 in this group. If we include all those with intelligence quotients of 115 and above, the number per 1,000 becomes from 118 to 255, or 11 to 25 in every class of 100 pupils.

2. Combination of Traits.—As already noted, Updegraff, in his study of Pennsylvania youth, takes a combination of traits or conditions as indicative of potential leadership ability. These are: (1) intelligence, (2) emotional drive, (3) social ideals (lawfulness and social-mindedness), (4) school performance, and (5) socioeconomic background.[1]

TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS BY GROUPS OF I.Q. NUMBER PER THOUSAND[1]

I.Q. ranges	Updegraff	Bell, etc.	Terman	Horn
	Pupils of high-school age	High-school pupils	Unselected	6-year-olds
125+	70	85	28.5	30 (125+)
115–124	140	170	90	120 (113–124)
105–114	240	244	231	
95–104	260	243	339	700 (89–112)
85– 94	180	173	201	
				120 (77–88)
75– 84	80	73	86	
Below 75	30	12	26.3	30 (Below 77)
Number	11,613	2,783	905	

[1] The data in this table were assembled from the following sources:

1. Bell, Havrah, and William M. Proctor, High School Populations Then and Now, *School Review*, **44**: 689, November, 1936.
2. Horn, John L., *The American Public School*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1926, p. 265.
3. Terman, L. M., *The Measurement of Intelligence*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, p. 66.
4. Updegraff, Harlan, *Inventory of Youth in Pennsylvania*, Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission, preliminary draft, p. 21.

A high rating in each of these five elements indicates leadership ability. He concludes that there are 175 pupils out of 1,000 who are potential leaders and fully qualified to pursue college courses and 112 out of 1,000 who are potential leaders and fully qualified to graduate from the highest grade of four-year high schools. This means that there are in every 1,000 pupils in the sixth grade

[1] Updegraff, Harlan, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

287 potential leaders—those who rank high in all of the five categories listed. In other words, in every class of 50 pupils there may be 14 who are potential leaders. If, as Updegraff maintains, a poor socioeconomic background may operate to stimulate rather than retard some pupils, and if social ideals may be changed, the proportion of potential leaders among our school population would be larger still.

3. Conclusions.—Granting, as we must, the tentative nature of the estimates given, we cannot escape the conclusion that in our schools as now constituted there are appreciable numbers of potential leaders—a far larger proportion than ever achieve real leadership in later life. This represents an incalculable loss to society, a loss that can be materially reduced if proper measures are taken.

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2. Dearborn, George Van Ness, Every Man a Leader, *Scientific American Supplement*, **84**: 118–119, Aug. 25, 1917.

3. Ganders, Harry S., Prestige, Loyalty, Popularity, and Other Accompaniments of Leadership, *Educational Review*, **74**: 205–208, November, 1927.

4. Osborn, Henry Fairfield, *Creative Education*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.

5. Pigors, Paul, *Leadership or Domination*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935.

CHAPTER III

FUNDAMENTALS IN A LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Accepting as a working basis the traits and characteristics given in Chapter II, let us first inquire into the fundamental elements of a leadership program, especially as related to the public schools in a democracy.

I. The Discovery of Leaders and Prospective Leaders

One of the most important elements in any leadership program is the formulation of plans for the discovery of leaders and prospective leaders.

1. Opportunities for Manifestation of Traits.—Leadership traits are not shown in a vacuum. We must provide in our schools opportunities for these traits to show themselves. We must so arrange our classes and our school life as to make possible or, better, to make *necessary*, the manifestation of the traits and characteristics selected. We should capitalize such traits rather than repress them, as we do so frequently at present. These opportunities must be provided not only in student government, clubs, and athletics but in our classrooms, where the procedure should be so modified that leadership traits will be given a chance to show themselves in the regular classwork. There must be greater opportunity for individual initiative and more chance for self-expression in ways that may be somewhat divergent from accepted standards. Work that is worth while and that appeals to all types of pupils must be offered; otherwise the desired traits will not appear. There must also be avenues through which information regarding out-of-school activities may be secured—home life, after-school jobs, recreations, etc. We are in search of traits shown anywhere, not merely in the school.

2. Breadth of Selection of Leaders.—Leadership in a democracy must know neither race nor nationality nor color nor sex nor occupational nor social status of parents; it must be determined by leadership ability alone. If, as Counts so clearly shows, our high schools as now constituted appeal much more to children of parents in professions than to those whose parents are in occupations of a lower level, our field for the discovery of leaders is thereby limited. If certain children are not in school, the machinery we set up will not reach them, and they will not be exposed to those stimuli that we provide by means of which leadership qualities will be revealed. If we place restrictions upon any group of pupils in our classroom work, in our student activities and organizations, either these restrictions must be removed, or other opportunities must be provided.

3. The Use of Records.—There is in all schools much information regarding traits and characteristics that is not utilized, chiefly because such information is not recorded but resides only in the minds of individual teachers. Any adequate program of leadership must include cumulative records from the time when the child begins school to the time when he leaves. Among these records should be included estimates of the various leadership traits and characteristics. Whenever any teacher sees a trait that is significant for leadership, he should at once record it, together with the situation that evoked the response. A collection of such records from year to year would be a powerful factor in discovering potential leaders as well as in guiding and training them. It also would offer the best means of correcting and improving the existing lists of significant leadership traits.

II. The Training of Leaders

The second element in a leadership program is the training of leaders and prospective leaders.

1. The Development of Leaders.—While it is undoubtedly true, as Dr. Cox shows, that the genius in any field, the outstanding leader, usually shows many of the leadership characteristics at an early age, it is also clear that many potential leaders of a high order never become real leaders. One reason for this is the

inadequacy of the environment, especially the early environment, to call forth or produce the necessary traits. An environment rich in stimuli, *i.e.*, surroundings that necessitate continual readjustment, that have opportunities for the traits listed, is essential to the development of leaders. Another reason for the waste of good leadership material is the fact that practically all the traits listed are capable of modification—of development or suppression—by training. "Leaders are born, not made" is a statement true only in part. Among the sixty-seven traits chosen by Dr. Cox there is probably not one that is not possessed to some degree by every normal person. Training may not create traits, but it can develop them, and lack of training may cause them to atrophy.

2. The Function of Training in the Development of Intelligent Leadership.—Not all leaders are useful to society; some are very harmful. Many new things are invented or discovered every year, only a few of which are beneficial. Poison gas, weapons of destruction, books that corrupt morals, economic and political theories that would make us revert to an animal condition, that would make us sacrifice life and happiness to financial gain—all these destructive agents appear every day. In every political campaign, leaders try to make us elect corrupt men and adopt measures that are entirely subversive to our ethical and moral values. It is not enough that new things be discovered; these new things must represent some real social and industrial need. It is not enough that men who can influence others be found and developed; this influence must be exerted to impel us to do what is best.

Some leaders are dangerous because of sheer stupidity. Well-meaning but stupid leaders are probably more dangerous than the clever rogue. We can guard ourselves against a clever rogue, but against a stupid leader there is no defense. Stupidity in leaders is by no means always caused by low intelligence: it is often the result of ignorance; consequently knowledge and the ability to get facts are indispensable to intelligent leadership. The leader must know what the essential elements in any crisis are; he must know what the probable results of any given line of

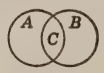
action will be; he must be able to make forecasts with a reasonable degree of accuracy. We "muddle through" most of our crises largely because of the ignorance of leaders. Knowledge is precisely that element that is most susceptible to education and training. Lack of intelligence, if founded upon lack of native capacity, we can do little about, but men and women can learn facts; they can be trained to a high degree of efficiency in techniques of fact finding and in methods of knowing facts when they are secured.

In addition to learning how to deal with facts, leaders need to be trained in certain techniques of expression if they are to attain maximum efficiency. The artist and musician must become thoroughly familiar with the techniques that have been found effective for the expression of ideas in form and color, in tone and harmony. Poets and other writers are handicapped unless they have rich and varied vocabularies and know the various forms of expression that have been used so successfully by other literary artists. The inventor is handicapped unless he can express his ideas in some effective way to others. It is the same with all other types of leaders. Education and training cannot take the place of native intelligence or of talent, but they can go far in giving direction to intelligence and talent and in making them more effective.

Another element in intelligent leadership is also susceptible to training, that of character. Knowledge gives power but not wisdom; it is the most effective agent in the world, but, without the guidance of ideals of service and divorced from the desire to improve society, it is dangerous. Wise leadership is the resultant of native talent, knowledge, and training, guided and directed by character.

3. Freedom vs. Indoctrination.—At this point, we are confronted by a troublesome dilemma. Shall we, by selection, by training, by indoctrination seek to predetermine what the leader will do, the direction that he will take; or shall we allow for great freedom? Shall we seek to preserve and continue certain forms of government, certain social customs, religious beliefs, forms of expression in literature, music, and art; or shall we open the way

to radical changes and run the risk of disruption and overthrow of customs and forms that have existed for centuries and perhaps have proved valuable? The whole history of human relationship shows that there must be some sort of balance between these alternatives. Without freedom, we can have no progress; without indoctrination, we can have no stability. This, however, does not represent the whole truth. We can also say that without indoctrination there can be no progress. Indoctrination in some form is inevitable and indispensable. The places of freedom and of indoctrination may be represented by two circles that overlap to a certain extent. Circle *A* represents freedom; circle



B, indoctrination. That part of *B* outside *A* represents the place where, by general agreement, indoctrination is desirable and proper; the part of *A* outside *B* represents the proper place of freedom; the overlapping section *C* is the place where there is great, and it may be legitimate, lack of agreement. This much is clear: whatever symbols and techniques have been universally accepted and have become the vehicles of thought and expression, these should be learned as they are—there is no place for freedom; whenever a fact has been proved to be a fact and accepted as such, there is little place for freedom. If any truth has been accepted as final and irrevocable, that is the place for indoctrination. Our schools are very largely devoted to indoctrination, and properly so; effective education is based upon indoctrination. However, it is just as clear that there must somewhere be a place for freedom. Our forms of expression in literature, art, and music would never vary if there were complete indoctrination. Our forms of government—our industrial, economic, and social customs—would not be adjustable to new conditions unless we provided for freedom of individual thought and expression. Where can we draw the line between proper and desirable indoctrination and necessary freedom? From the nature of the case, this question cannot be fully answered; society will probably never come to a complete agreement upon it.

We must admit that if anyone feels that a certain belief or custom, be it social or religious, is absolute, unchangeable, and vital to life and to happiness he has the right not only to hold but also to try to secure indoctrination of that belief or custom. Our very idea of freedom must allow for a certain amount of freedom to indoctrinate. Possibly, as Bode has pointed out, freedom of society and the individual may come through the very conflict of ideas that different groups seek to indoctrinate.

We have just now some very interesting experiments in indoctrination. Russia at the moment presents in her educational system a striking example of this policy. If her present policy continues, we shall in all probability see in less than a generation the rise of leaders who are, to say the least, antireligious and anticapitalistic. England and the United States are on the whole representatives of the policy of greater freedom, or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that they have no policy at all; most of their leaders develop independently, with little conscious attempt on the part of anyone else either at giving them freedom or at indoctrination. No country and no educational system can escape some indoctrination of ideas and of ideals; it is inevitable. But no nation in the face of present conditions can afford to indoctrinate to the point of fixing the exact form of government, of preserving without change social customs and institutions. The only safe form of indoctrination would seem to be that which emphasizes ideals of service; of continual readjustment of social forms to meet new conditions; of large tolerance of varying, even conflicting, ideas.

III. Training in Intelligent Choice of Leaders

1. The Need for Intelligent Selection.—The problem presented in the last section is a very difficult one—possibly one that can never be completely solved. It is not improbable that we should adopt a plan involving much greater freedom than we now have in order that there should be presented a larger variety of new ideas, techniques, and forms and that we should then place greater emphasis upon training people to choose more intelligently among these ideas, techniques, and forms and among different

leaders. It is certain that one of our greatest needs today is greater intelligence in the choice of our leaders. Graft, corruption, waste, crime, all are the direct result of the failure of the ordinary citizen to choose his social and political leaders wisely. The economic depression is the result of poor leadership—stupidity and ignorance on the part of the leaders—and of stupidity, ignorance, indifference, lack of intelligence on the part of the citizen in choosing such leaders.

2. Leadership and Followership.—Few people, indeed, will ever be outstanding leaders, and we should never hold out the hope that everyone, no matter what his present ability may be, can become a real leader if he will but put forth enough effort. While there are distinct differences in leadership ability, while the majority of people will follow more than they will lead, we are not justified in separating one group from another and planning one kind of education for leaders and another for followers. Every normal person is a leader in some respect, and every leader is and must be a follower. In fact, leadership and followership are indispensable elements in citizenship. Leaders are not leaders in everything; the very success of their leadership in one line of activity makes it essential that they deliberately place themselves under others who will lead them in other activities. Political leadership at its best, as well as at its worst, involves cooperation, give and take, mutual helpfulness. The inventor or writer must often seclude himself and depend entirely upon others to secure such living and working conditions for himself as will make possible his own efficiency. Leadership ability and the ability to choose leaders are indispensable parts of the same process.

3. Training in Schools.—Our schools present a splendid opportunity for training in choice of leaders. The tendency in modern school organization, in classroom procedure, is distinctly toward giving pupils larger opportunities for such choice. So far, little has been done to develop techniques in the definite choice of leaders.

IV. Social Organization for Leadership

Leaders are not the product of the schools alone; they result from the entire social, economic, and political situation. There

must be social demand for leaders, and freedom for the exercise of leadership. The preeminence of Athens in literature, art, science, politics was not the result of her system of education, although the schools contributed their part; it was due primarily to the demand for poets, dramatists, artists, sculptors, scientists, statesmen and to the freedom given for the exercise of the qualities necessary for the development of different kinds of leaders. It is useless for schools to attempt to develop leaders unless there is wide opportunity for the exercise of leadership. There must be social demand for leaders, social stimuli that will call forth those capable of leadership. There must be avenues through which leaders may function, and these avenues should be more or less definite, so that young people may know what opportunities for leadership await them. Occupations of various kinds should organize with this idea in view, so that progress may be assured each worker, according to his ability, in the form of a larger and larger exercise of leadership. Promotions must be based upon ability to do the particular task effectively, not upon seniority alone. Room should be left for individual initiative, and provision made for encouraging special abilities and for the utilization of such abilities when found.

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PART II

LEADERSHIP IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Examples of leadership programs in other countries will be presented in Part II. For our purposes, two ancient and two modern countries have been selected. Athens and Rome each possessed a very effective system for the selection and training of leaders. England and Russia have developed systems each very different from the other but each has much suggestive value for our own country.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT ATHENS AND LEADERSHIP

There is much in the ideals of the ancient Athenians and in their system of education that has real value for the student of American secondary education today. This is especially true of their plans for the selection and training of leaders. Any nation that has produced the galaxy of leaders listed below in practically every field of human activity surely has something that merits careful consideration.

I. Leaders of Athens

Statesmen and Orators		*Musicians*	*Dramatist and Poets*	
Pericles	Lysias	Phrynis	Aeschylus	Pratinas
Cimon	Isocrates	Timotheus	Sophocles	Crates
Cleon	Demosthenes	(the Elder)	Euripides	Cratinus
Ephialtes	Nicias		Aristophanes	

Sculptors and Painters		*Historians*	*Philosophers*	
Myron	Polygnotus	Herodotus	Anaxagoras	Plato
Phydias	Praxiteles	Thucydides	Socrates	
Micon	Panaenus	Xenophon	Aristotle	

Sciéntists		*Soldiers (fighters)*	*Soldiers (statesmen)*
Meton	Hippocrates	Alcibiades	Nicias
Aristotle		Tolmides	Lamachus
Anaxogoras		Aristides	

How were these leaders produced? What conditions gave rise to them? What was the social and educational system behind them? There were altogether too many outstanding leaders among them to be accounted for merely on the basis of the "force of genius." Can we get any suggestions from the Athenians that will help us in our leadership program?

II. Social Constitution of Athens

It may be well at this point to describe in some detail the social constitution of Athens and the system of education that was based upon it. With this as a background, we will be able to understand more fully the ways in which they provided for leadership and to judge where their situation was sufficiently like our own to make it possible for us to use any of their ideas. In doing this, we shall not attempt to give the history of Athens or to describe Athenian education from the standpoint of its origin and its development but merely to take a cross section of Athenian life and education at one stage, the Periclean age, and study the purpose and organization of the system of education in the light of government, social life, and ideals as they were at that time in Athens. To do this, we must first consider Athenian society.

1. Classes of Residents.—At the time of Pericles, there were three classes of inhabitants: (1) Slaves, both state and personal, who worked on the farms, in the mines, factories and shops, on roads and public buildings, and who had no rights. There were between 100,000 and 150,000 of these at the time of Pericles. (2) Metics or resident aliens, those who had come to Attica from other countries for the purpose of trade, commerce, or handicraft. Some of these were very wealthy and in many ways influential, but no metic ever had any part in the government. They could not even conduct a lawsuit except through an Athenian citizen. There were between 30,000 and 40,000 metics in Attica, most of whom were in the Peiraeus, the chief port of Athens. (3) Citizens of all classes, of whom there were perhaps 100,000 including men, women, and children. Of these, only 30,000 were adult men who had the right to vote and to participate in the government. These constituted the Athenian democracy—a small group of 30,000 citizens ruling 250,000. Moreover, at the time of Pericles, no resident alien or slave could ever hope to obtain citizenship. Nor could an Athenian marry any but a freeborn Athenian woman. In this discussion, several points need to be kept in mind: (1) Athenian society was founded upon a substratum of slavery; slaves were by far the largest class of residents.

(2) Citizenship was restricted to freeborn Athenian men twenty years of age and older. This excluded women, all resident aliens, and slaves. Although Athens was a democracy only among its citizens, it was far in advance of any of the other countries of its day even in this ideal of democracy.

2. Occupations.—The occupations of residents were varied. The majority of the people were engaged in manufacturing, trade, and commerce. There were artisans of all kinds: millers, bakers, tailors, hat and leather manufacturers, jewelers, masons, carpenters, porters, etc. There were also many landed proprietors and an influential class of professional men including physicians (some state physicians and some with private practice only). The cheapness and abundance of slave labor made some distinction possible and necessary. The Athenian citizens regarded all forms of handicraft and manual labor and any direct contact with money-making as bourgeois. The highest class merely invested money, owned farms and other establishments, but placed the management of their property in the hands of others, lower class citizens, resident aliens, or slaves. Of course, the actual work was done by these lower classes. Merchants and traders were lower in the scale but higher than retail dealers and hucksters. In proportion as one was connected with manual labor or earning money directly, one's status was low. A large number of the poorer citizens had to work.

It is thus seen that among the group of citizens were really all classes and occupations from the highest, those with much land and large incomes, to the landless, those with practically no income, men who worked with their hands and whose economic status was not as good as that of many slaves. All citizens, however, the highest and the lowest, had a real part in the government; they had access to plays and sports and to the public life of Athens. They all had real opportunities for culture, for contact with art, drama, and the varied and rich public life of Athens.

3. Political Organization and Classes of Citizens.—While the political setup was constantly changing, the following outline of the organization of the Athenian state at the time of Pericles may be taken as characteristic:

Political Organization of Athens

A. Citizens—freeborn Athenians. Divided into classes on property basis.

Highest class—those whose estates yield 500 or more measures of grain, oil, and wine. Heaviest war taxes. Eligible to highest military and other offices.

Knights—those whose estates yield 300 to 500 measures. War taxes. Cavalry service and many lighter offices.

Hoplites—estates yielding 200 to 300 measures. War taxes. Heavy armed soldiers. Eligible to many offices.

Thetes—the laborers, the poor—without land or with estates that yield less than 200 measures, exempt from taxation for war. Light armed troops, eligible to very inferior offices, if any. Members of Assembly and Law Courts and Council of Five Hundred.

Divided into ten tribes or "wards" but not by blood relationship; each ward composed of ten demes.

B. Political organization

1. Magistrates.

Ten archons chosen from two upper classes. Presided over courts and acted as clerks to prepare cases.

Ten generals—one from each tribe. From highest class. Highest administrative power, subject to Assembly.

2. Councils.

The Areopagus—members were all ex-archons and served for life. Now only a minor criminal court. In charge of morals of citizens, especially of young men.

Council of the Five Hundred—fifty drawn by lot from the candidates presented by each tribe. Met ten times a year. Each fifty took turns managing affairs of the Council; chairman changed each day, presided over Council and Assembly.

3. Law Courts.

Organization—6,000 citizens chosen by lot each year. Divided into panels of ten jury courts. For important cases, several often thrown together. Odd number.

Function:

1. Trial of officials.
2. Supreme imperial court, to settle all disputes between cities.
3. Courts of appeal for all cases of subject cities.
4. Ordinary law courts for all Athenians. Judge and jury. Citizens received small pay for services.

4. The Assembly.

Organization—All citizens over twenty years old who had leisure and inclination to attend. Forty regular meetings a year. Any citizen could offer amendments.

Function—Supreme power over everything, passed laws and decrees, elected officers. Four meetings each year devoted to examining conduct of magistrates; results reported to Council of Five Hundred.

Several points are significant in this political organization. (1) The rights and duties of citizens were determined by the amount of property possessed. Only those who had the most property were eligible to the highest offices, and they had the most rights. Those who had little or no property could hold only inferior offices and had fewest rights. (2) Citizenship demanded leisure, that is, time free from the necessity of earning a livelihood; the more one participated in the activities of the government the more leisure he must have. (3) The supreme power was in the Assembly, the Law Courts, and the Council of Five Hundred. To these, even the lowest class of citizens was eligible. (4) A patriotic citizen was called upon to give the equivalent of one day in every six or seven to the work of the government. Many offices could be held only once by the same man; hence every Athenian citizen could count on serving his state at some time in almost every public capacity except that of archon and of general. Under Athenian democracy, the proportion of citizens who were trained to civic responsibilities was much larger than that in any other nation. The undertaking of such duties affords also definite training in leadership. The following quotation from the funeral oration of Pericles will show the attitude of the Athenians toward public service[1]: "When a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bore, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition."

As a result, the average Athenian's political training and ability more nearly resembled that of the average member of the English Parliament or of the American Congress than that merely of the average citizen of England or America. When we realize the demands made upon all Athenian citizens by the state and the great number of men more or less directly in the pay of the state, those in the army and the navy, and those engaged in the various

[1] Thucydides, Book II, par. 40, Jowett translation.

public enterprises such as making roads, constructing fortifications, building temples, we come to see that the making of citizens and training of leaders were of supreme importance to the Athenians. These were consequently two of the principal purposes of their educational system, which was characterized by an entire absence of the "bread-and-butter" aim. The Athenian aim was to develop the ideal Athenian. As we have already seen, this involved both the development of good citizens and leaders—those who could serve the state well—and the development of the individual. These were not separate aims but were to be accomplished simultaneously.

III. Athenian Ideals

The Athenian ideal of man went back to Homeric times and was typified by two heroes, Achilles, the man of action, the man who could "do deeds," and Odysseus, the man of wisdom, the man who could "speak words." It is perhaps worth noting that the latter half of the ideal involved not only knowing the best plan but being able by persuasive speech, in discussion, to influence others to believe that it was best. That Athenians were aware of the value of discussion and of the contribution of the individual is clearly shown in the following selection from the funeral oration of Pericles:[1]

> If few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger.

The ideal Athenian must combine the elements of wisdom and action in a well-balanced, harmonious character; he must possess not so much a healthy mind in a healthy body as a well-developed, symmetrical mind in a well-developed, beautiful body. The

[1] *Ibid.*

means used to develop this character were gymnastic, which included all forms of physical exercise, and music, which included literary elements as well as those distinctly musical. It hardly does justice to Athenian aims to say that gymnastic was for the body and music for the soul, for these two elements worked together in the development of the ideal character, each helping the other; harmony of action and beauty of body resulted in a beautiful soul as surely as symmetry of mind and harmony of thought contributed to a beautiful body.

IV. Athenian Education

In studying the education and training of the Athenian youth, we may properly consider three points: (1) vocational or industrial training; (2) training for citizenship; (3) cultural or liberal training, that training and education which aimed to develop the individual.

A. Vocational Training

Apparently the boys of the poorer classes began their distinctly industrial and vocational training at about fourteen or fifteen years of age. For the most part, the boy followed the vocation of his father and was taught by him, but provision was made for masters and apprentices. A form of apprenticeship was well worked out.

Xenophon says:[1] "When you apprentice a boy, you draw up an agreement of what you mean him to be taught." The fees were not paid unless this agreement was carried out.

Plato[2] mentions the two functions of a doctor and builder as "practicing the profession of teaching." In the *Republic*[3] he says, "If, owing to poverty a craftsman is unable to provide the books and other requisites of his calling, his work will suffer, and his sons and others whom he may be teaching will not learn their trade so well." We find mention of apprentices in pottery, in waiting on the table, in cooking, for which the minimum period

[1] Xenophon, *Revenues*, vol. II, 2.
[2] Plato, *Kleitophon*, 409B.
[3] Plato, *Republic*, 421E.

of apprenticeship was ten months, and in the profession of physician. But all this was entirely distinct from the schools as established institutions. Apprenticeship was only for the lower classes, the less powerful, the less influential.

B. Elementary Education

The education of the boy before the secondary period may be reviewed briefly. From the ages of one to seven, the boy was at home in charge of his mother and, if his parents could afford it, of a special slave called the *paedagodus*, whose duty it was to look after him, to wait on him, and to correct any minor offences. This care was continually exercised until the boy began his secondary education at about the age of fourteen or fifteen. Between the ages of seven and fifteen, the boy attended various forms of elementary school; the boy whose parents were wealthy, for the entire period; the poor boy, for a comparatively short time. These schools were, in general, of two kinds: the gymnastic school, the *palaestra;* and the music school, the *didascaleum.* These were private and patronized mostly by the wealthy classes. In the gymnastic school, the boy was taught various forms of physical exercises, with a view to the development of a beautiful body. In the music school, he was taught to read and write and to perform simple computations. The main emphasis, however, was in the direction of firmly implanting in the boy the Athenian ideals of manhood. This was done by having him commit to memory selections from the Homeric poems and other poems and stories recounting the deeds of old Greek heroes. These heroes are still intensely human, and, because they were so real, they fired the imagination and inspired the young with a desire to imitate. Again, it is important to remember that these ideals were not foreign but intensely Athenian, interwoven with the very life and character of their social and political organizations. Their emotional appeal was still further intensified by the training in music and dancing. The training in music consisted in learning to play on the seven-stringed lyre an accompaniment to the poems recited. These accompaniments were improvised by the player and were designed to furnish a musical background and

so to interpret the thought and feeling of the poems. They were probably similar in purpose to the musical accompaniment on the harp to the songs of the minstrels or, in the present day, to the musical background for the recitation of such a poem as "King Robert of Sicily." The emphasis was thus not upon the technique of playing but upon the artistic and effective interpretation of thought and feeling. Dancing was, in a way, a combination of gymnastics and music. "One object seems to have been, as in music, to express the meaning of some poem and arouse a patriotic and religious spirit. The dancing consisted in a rhythmical swaying of the entire body, expressing by a sort of pantomimic ballet the sentiment of which was at the same time sung in words and accompanied on the lyre by a musician."[1] It thus had for its object the training both of the body and of the soul.

C. Secondary Education

At about the age of fourteen or fifteen, or even younger, the sons of poorer parents began their period of apprenticeship in some trade or industry. Those whose parents were wealthy entered upon a further period of training most distinctly under state control. They were freed, for the most part, from the supervision of the *paedagogus* and had many other privileges not enjoyed by the younger boys.

1. Gymnastic Training.—The state established gymnasiums, each under the control of a *gymnasiarch* and of teachers called *gymnastae.* In these the boys were trained in various kinds of physical exercises, such as boxing, running, jumping, throwing the discus, casting the javelin, and wrestling, or the pentathlon, which was the combination of these. All these were public, and numerous prizes were given for successful competition. The sons of wealthy parents spent much time in these exercises.

2. Cadet Citizenship.—The other side of their training was provided by a system that we might almost call incidental, if it were not so thoroughly a part of their plan of education. These youths went in groups to the Assembly and to the Law Courts,

[1] Graves, Frank P., *A History of Education before the Middle Ages*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 163. Used by special permission of the publisher.

where they listened to discussions on matters ranging from petty lawsuits to questions of imperial concern. These they discussed among themselves and with older men, with whom they constantly associated. They were thus familiar with civic questions and public enterprises. No small part of their training was gained in the *agora* and on the streets. Athens was then the imperial city, and to her came merchants and traders from the Orient, from Egypt, and from the barbarian peoples of Europe. Mountebanks and scholars, philosophers and inventors, skilled artisans and learned men—all could be seen in the *agora* and on the streets of Athens and at the Peiraeus. To associate with them was a liberal education in itself. During the time of Pericles, some of them began to draw groups of young men about them and to impart to them some of their knowledge and skill; to open up the mysteries of philosophy, astronomy, and kindred subjects; and to give training in public speaking. These were the first of the Sophists.

In order to safeguard the morals of the young men, there was annually chosen from each tribe the *sophronistes*, whose special duty it was to look after the conduct of the young men between the ages of fourteen or fifteen and twenty. This oversight was strict, and not infrequently young men were brought before the court of the Areopagus for misconduct. If found guilty, they or their parents were fined or imprisoned or punished in other ways. All this training was with the definite purpose of preparing them for the duties of citizenship. It was such a training for leadership as the world has seen neither before nor since. They became thoroughly imbued with national ideals; they learned the customs of the people; and they were compelled to commit to memory the principal laws of their country.

3. Ephebic Training.—At the age of eighteen, the young Athenian came partly of age; he had certain property rights but could not take part in the activities of government. At this time he began the ephebic training, which was really cadet citizenship. He had to pass various kinds of examinations. He was examined by his deme to see whether he was of proper parentage and of the requisite age. If accepted by the deme, he

was examined again by the Council of Five Hundred, which might rescind the action of the deme. He also had to pass certain physical and intellectual tests and must be approved by the *sophronistes*. He then took the solemn oath of the ephebus, which was as follows:

> I will never disgrace these sacred arms, nor desert my companions in the ranks. I will fight for temples and public property, both alone and with many. I will transmit my fatherland, not only not less, but greater and better, than it was transmitted to me. I will obey the magistrates who may at any time be in power. I will observe both the existing laws and those which the people may unanimously hereafter make; and, if any person seek to annul the laws or set them at naught, I will do my best to prevent him, and will defend them both alone and with many. I will honor the religion of my fathers. And I call to witness Aglaurus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone.

The young recruits were then taken for a visit to all the temples, after which they were assigned to garrison duty in or near Athens. For this purpose, they were divided into groups, those from each deme being in the same group. One of the chief duties of the *sophronistes* was to look after the recruits from his own tribe. He had to provide their rations, for which he was paid a certain amount. He also appointed masters and under-masters, who instructed the recruits in the use of heavy arms, the bow, the javelin, etc. There were also two physical directors, *paedotribae*, who looked after the gymnastic training, which was much more severe than that in the gymnasium. The discipline was strict and the training thorough. On special occasions, there were various kinds of athletic and military contests, individual and company, which served to keep up interest and to increase the efficiency of the groups.

At the end of the first year of training, the recruits appeared in the greater theater of Dionysius at Athens, to exhibit their military evolutions and drill. If they were then approved, each received from the state a spear and a shield; these were considered sacred, and to throw them away in time of battle or at other times was a serious offence, a disgrace. The second year was spent patrolling the frontier and in garrison duty among the

various forts. In order to become acquainted with different parts of the country, the boys were shifted from place to place. At the end of this year, at the age of twenty, they were given the *dokimasia eis andreia*, or final examination, after the successful passing of which they were formally received as full citizens.

How many of the citizens received military training is not definitely known. It is probable that the boys of the first three classes passed through a part or all of the ephebic training. The *thetes*, or lowest class, probably did not or seldom did; they were allowed to serve in the navy. It also seems probable that those who had the most leisure, those of the highest class of citizens, received the most thorough military training. As the generals were chosen from this class alone, this procedure would be but a part of their general plan for training leaders.

4. Theaters and Public Games.—Any consideration of the education and training of the young Athenian and of the older citizens as well cannot leave out of account the theaters and the public games. In the theater of Dionysius, which was large enough to seat practically the entire male-citizen population, the masterpieces of Greek drama were presented twice a year. In order to make sure that all who wished could attend, Pericles had the admission fee given to all who would ask for it. The most important of the national athletic contests was the Olympic games, celebrated every four years. All these tended to unite the people, encouraged the development of perfect bodies, firmly implanted national ideals, and contributed to the maintenance of patriotism.

V. Results

Thus we see a remarkable combination of school and state working for the symmetrical development of the individual, the training of citizens, and the selection and training of leaders—such a combination as has been the ideal of educators but has never been so fully realized as in Athens at the time of Pericles. It is, of course, quite impossible to trace effects definitely to certain causes, but it is significant, at least, that the same period in Athenian life shows such a remarkable array of leaders. The

Athenians themselves attributed the results to their social and educational system. Pericles said: "To sum up I say that Athens is the school of Hellas and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace."[1] We may pardon Pericles for his enthusiasm and feel that he has overestimated the abilities of the ordinary Athenian citizen; we may also doubt whether the social and educational system which formed him were alone responsible for the results attained, but we may surely conclude that we have ample grounds for a careful study of that system to see in what way its methods may be of value to us.

VI. Contribution to Training for Citizenship and Leadership

To what extent can we learn by the experience of the Athenians? To what extent can we follow their methods? So far as there were in the life of the Athenians elements which appear also in ours, to that extent we can profit. Whenever our experience diverges from theirs, we cannot and should not follow in their path. It is not improbable that, while accepting many of their educational objectives, we may be compelled to seek other methods to attain these ends.

One of the most significant elements in their educational system was their method of training for citizenship and leadership. Does this offer any suggestions for us today?

Although we go back to the Athenian state for some of our ideals of democracy, yet we must admit that there are few elements in Athenian government that are common to our own. The Athenian ideal of equality has some points of similarity to ours, but it applied only to a select group and did not take account of women, of slaves, or of resident aliens; while it was far in advance of the time, it is not capable of universal application today.

Government in Athens was one of direct participation—ours is a representative government. The number of citizens in

[1] Thucydides, Book II, par. 40, Jowett translation.

Athens was small—ours is enormously large. That which we have called training for citizenship in Athens, so far as the schools were concerned, was not really training for citizenship at all but a professional training for positions of leadership in a state where leadership was the exclusive right of the aristocracy. It was a method by which those who were destined by their wealth and social position to be leaders were trained for their work. The political organization of Athens, on the other hand, did provide very real training for leadership for all citizens by means of the actual exercise of certain kinds of political leadership, but this opportunity was confined to citizens and was not open to resident aliens or slaves. With us everyone is a citizen and has rights and duties as a citizen. Hence it is necessary for us to provide opportunities for universal training in citizenship.

Like the Athenians, we must also train leaders, but there is a fundamental difference between the two situations. In Athens, only those boys whose fathers were wealthy could aspire to the highest forms of leadership; although every Athenian citizen was eligible to other forms of leadership, the field for the selection of leaders was very restricted, since Athenian citizens were only a small part of the population. But the field for the selection of our leaders is a vast one; for with us leadership is, theoretically at least, dependent not upon wealth, or influence, or social position, or blood but upon ability alone.

Our problem is much more complex in another respect; for we must select and train leaders not only for the control of government but also for every branch of industry, of commerce, of business and for every other activity of our complex life.

Another fundamental difference is found in the racial characteristics of the two nations. In Athens, the racial stock was pure, or, if not absolutely so, it was composed of elements that were so closely related as to make no essential difference. Stringent laws had been enacted forbidding the marriage of any Athenian citizen to an alien. Pericles himself was one of those affected by this ruling, and his extralegal relationship with Aspasia was the result. This homogeneity of race produced a common background of ideas and of ideals shared alike by the higher classes of

citizens and by the lower. All went back to the same heroes and the same legends. All could celebrate together the same great historical events. "The chief strength of the Greeks lay in their freedom from hampering intellectual tradition. They had no venerated classics, no holy books, no dead languages to master, no authorities to check their free speculation."[1] But one of our greatest problems is the assimilation of racial elements that are very dissimilar and even antagonistic, the welding together of a heterogeneous mass of people who represent opposing forms of government, diverse religious faiths, and dissimilar historical and social backgrounds—the fusing of them in such a way that they will think alike on important questions of citizenship and act for the common good.

The Athenian system is further differentiated from ours by three features which are closely related to one another: (1) Citizenship was not universal, being confined to a comparatively small number of men. (2) Full citizenship and leadership demanded leisure time, freedom from the necessity of making a living. (3) In education, the vocational element was entirely lacking.

In spite of these fundamental differences, we can learn much from the methods used by the Athenians for the training of the future leaders of the state. In the first place, they had a definite, well-organized plan for the preparation of political and military leaders. In the second place, much of this preparation was in the nature of direct participation in social and political activities; Athenian boys received their training by *doing something* for the state. The value of this practical training cannot be over-estimated, for at the time of Pericles the problems to be settled were of vast importance; many of them were world problems.

We have already seen that to fulfill the duties of citizenship and leadership, leisure was necessary to the Athenians. This they obtained by the systems of slavery and restricted citizenship, neither of which is possible with us. It is, however, becoming

[1] Robinson, J. H., *The Mind in the Making*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1921, p. 99. Used by special permission of the publisher.

increasingly clear that in the future the ordinary citizen in the United States will have more leisure than is now his; but we shall achieve this increase not by a system of slavery but by the speeding up of production to a point where a four-hour day and a five-day week will be ample for every worker. This is probably more leisure time than the ordinary Athenian citizen ever had. We suddenly find ourselves with leisure time; can some method be devised by which it may be utilized in our leadership program? We may learn much from ancient Athens as well as from the Soviet Russia of today.

Leadership in the drama, in art, in music, in letters, while it was not the direct object of education, was provided for in Athens through public competition, fostered by the state, not for revenue or for the exploitation of the common citizen, but as a part of the general scheme of education and training for young and old. The arts were the direct means of developing in the common citizen ideals of beauty, of grace, of symmetry and formed the basis for their ability to choose the best.

Another significant element in Athenian training is the way in which the young men were inbued with the national ideals. This process has a direct bearing upon training for citizenship as well as upon character building. It was accomplished not by an abstract discussion of the value of character and patriotism or by an analytical study of the forms of government but by an intimate acquaintance with those more or less mythical figures who embodied their ideals: the wise, the crafty Ulysses; the brave and powerful Achilles; the mighty Ajax; and all the others. These heroes and their deeds lived in the minds and hearts of the young in a way not approached by us and profoundly affected their conduct.

The methods by which all this was accomplished have already been described. We cannot of course imitate their method, but we cannot fail to appreciate the value of their aim. If we can devise methods by which our own ideals as embodied in our great men can be made to live in the minds and hearts of our young people, we shall have accomplished much in the proper training for citizenship.

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CHAPTER V

ROME AND LEADERSHIP

I. Value of the Study of Roman Education

1. Roman Education Practical.—While the system for training leaders that obtained in Roman secondary education does not afford so instructive and illuminating a study as does that of the Athenians, yet it possesses many points of more than ordinary significance. Much of its value for us is a practical one, an outgrowth of the intensely practical nature of the Romans, and makes an addition to the Athenian ideal that is very important for us today. The Athenian ideal stressed symmetry, "all-roundedness," with the double purpose of service to the state and of individual perfection. The Romans demanded efficiency rather than symmetry and stressed service to the state more than individual development.

2. Roman Leaders.—The Romans had their own galaxy of leaders, as seen in the following list:

Roman Leaders

Statesmen	*Soldiers (statesmen)*	*Soldiers (fighters)*
Cato	Pompey	Crassus
Cicero	Julius Caesar	Curio
Pompey	Octavius Augustus	Agrippa
Julius Caesar	Antonius	
Octavius Augustus		
Artists and Sculptors	*Philosophers*	*Musicians*
Fabius Pictor	Cicero	Ctesibius
Ludius	Polybius	Vitruvius
	Seneca	
	Epictetus	

Dramatists and Poets	*Historians and Essayists*	*Scientists*
Lucretius	Cato	Pliny the Elder
Catullus	Fabius Pictor	Gallus
Varius Rufus	Polybius	Strabo
Horace	Cicero	Seneca
Tibullus	Julius Caesar	
Virgil	Sallust	
Ovid	Josephus	
Livy	Quintilian	
Lucan	Calpurnius Piso	
Martial	Cassius Hemina	
	Diodorus	

Although not so impressive in some respects as that of ancient Athens, yet the list of Roman leaders given above covers a wide field of human endeavor and includes names that are not less brilliant than those of Athens.

II. Social Constitution of Rome

To understand Roman secondary education, we must, as with the Athenians, inquire into Roman life and customs and the social and political organization of the Roman state.

At the founding of Rome, 753 B.C., the Romans were a federation of tribes, each occupying one of the seven hills. As among the Athenians, there were three classes of residents: (1) the members of the original tribes; (2) the resident aliens, or plebeians; (3) the slaves. But beneath this similarity in the organization of the two states existed certain very important differences. Roman slaves had by law certain definite rights that masters were bound to respect. The resident aliens, or plebeians, formed a part of the state that had to be reckoned with. The difference between their status and that of the metics among the Athenians constitutes one of the chief differences between the social organization of the two peoples. The metics in Athens had no rights as citizens, nor could they hope for any, except as a result of a social revolution. Athenian citizens were forbidden to marry alien women; so there was no intermingling of races. In Rome, such marriages were much more frequent. The plebeians

always had certain clearly defined rights and were citizens. However, they never had much real power. The history of political life in Rome from the founding of the city to the time of Augustus is the history of the struggle of the plebeians with the patricians, members of the original tribal organization, for adequate representation in the government.

The political organization is shown in the following outline:

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF ROME

Assemblies.

Senate.

Organization:

Number, 300. All patricians, appointed by consuls (after 442 B.C. by censors). Term of office, life. Only patricians of consular rank were eligible. (Consular rank, those who held the highest offices, consul, Pontifex Maximus, etc., and their descendants.)

Function:

Advised officers, approved or disapproved measures brought forward by consuls before being passed to the popular assembly, veto power.

Influence:

Very conservative, against democracy, wealthy, aristocratic.

Popular assembly—Comitia centuriata.

Organization:

Both patricians and plebeians. Whole people divided into classes largely on property basis. Each of these classes was divided into voting units or centuries: military organizations.

Classes of citizens	Centuries	Votes
Class I, Patricians	80	80
Class II, Property basis	20	20
Class III, Property basis	20	20
Class IV, Property basis	20	20
Class V, Property basis	28	28
Knights—cavalry	18	18
Smiths, carpenters, and musicians	4	4
Landless	2	2
Substitutes for killed and wounded	1	1
	193	193

Function:

Met only when convened by consuls. Approved or rejected measures already approved by senate, elected magistrates, voted on proposals

for laws and wars, ratified treaties already made by consuls. No discussion; no power of initiation; voted in this order: knights, class I, class II, etc. If knights and class I agreed, no other votes were taken.

Magistrates.

Consuls:

Two elected for one year by comitia centuriata. From patricians (later others eligible). Must be at least forty-three years old and have held other offices.

Quaestors:

Six—appointed by consuls; two kept the treasury, two detected crimes, and two acted as judges.

Pontifex Maximus:

Keeper of religious truths and calendars; religious authority, high priest. Was the head of seven priests; elected by own number (63 B.C. elected by the tribes). Appointed vestals and priests.

Augurs:

Assisted magistrates in determining the omens.

From this it will be seen that practically all real power was in the hands of the patricians. Gradually, it is true, the plebeians gained the name of power but never the actuality. To all practical purposes the only difference ever effected was to change the original class distinction of patricians versus plebeians to nobles versus common people (*populus*). When this happened, the nobility included "new men" who had become wealthy and influential but who were fundamentally conservative and were continually checking the plebeians in their struggle to secure the right of representation in the government. The Athenians, on the other hand, being free from the necessity of checking the demands of their resident aliens, could be as radical as they pleased.

The assimilation of diverse racial elements was one of the problems of the Romans. In this respect, they more nearly approached our own situation than did the Athenians. From the beginning, they were a federation of tribes representing somewhat different racial characteristics. After these elements were fairly well assimilated by intermarriage and by centuries of cooperation in enterprises that were essential to the welfare of all, the problem presented itself anew in the presence of the tribeless men, the resident aliens or plebeians. The ceaseless struggles of these men

for representation in the government were a constant menace to the aristocracy and called forth many attempts at compromise. But a serious effort at real assimilation seems never to have been made; whatever was accomplished in this line was the result of active conflict, in which the aristocracy found themselves compelled to cede a few rights and powers to the plebeians.

III. Roman and Athenian Ideals Compared

1. Attitude toward Law.—Another fundamental difference between the two peoples was the attitude of each toward law. The Romans based their relations with others upon fundamental law. The Athenians, while they had laws, regarded them lightly; few regular records were kept, past decisions were seldom used as precedents, and there were no trained judges. Another fundamental difference is thus expressed by Maine:

> It is remarkable too that the "equality" of laws on which the Greek democracies prided themselves . . . had little in common with the "equity" of the Romans. The first was an equal administration of civil laws among the citizens, however limited the class of citizens might be; the last implied the applicability of a law, which was not a civil law, to a class which did not necessarily consist of citizens. The first excluded a despot; the last included foreigners, and for some purposes slaves.[1]

2. Place of Women.—Perhaps one of the most striking differences between the Athenians and Romans is seen in the place among the two peoples of woman and of the home. While the Roman husband had legally the power of life and death over his wife, yet practically she was his equal in the home and was highly honored. To her was committed the care of the boy and the girl up to the age of twelve or even sixteen. The Roman home was the unit of society; it was the miniature state, where the father was both *rex* and priest, where sacrifices were made to the state gods. The hearth (*focus*) with its fire was the center of family life and corresponded to the vestal fire in the temple of Vesta.

[1] Maine, Sir Henry, *Ancient Law*, London: John Murray, 1874, pp. 58–59.

The family was a very real force and played a distinct part in the education of the Roman citizen.

3. Attitude toward Manual Labor.—As might be inferred from their practical nature, the attitude of the Romans toward manual labor and gainful occupation was not originally the same as that of the Athenians. All kinds of occupations were respected among them, but one of the most influential classes was that of the large landholder.

4. The Individual and the State.—A comparison of the Athenian and the Roman ideals of the relationship of the individual to the state may serve to bring out more clearly some important points.

As we have already seen, the Athenian ideal had two elements, service to the state and individual perfection. The Roman ideal left little room for mere perfection of the individual as such; service to the state was the chief element. The points of difference and similarity may best be illustrated by examples.

While the Athenian ideal was better balanced than the Spartan, its general character is nevertheless to be seen in the incident of Leonidas and his band at Thermopylae. They held the fort nobly in the face of tremendous odds and performed a splendid service; but such was their ideal of individual conduct that, after they had accomplished all that could possibly be done and when they still had time to retreat, they chose to stay and die fighting. This was indeed a glorious sacrifice and one that has inspired many to similar deeds of heroism. On the other hand, from the standpoint of immediate service to the state, it was a useless sacrifice; no general in the World War would for a moment have advocated such a course or presented it as an ideal to his soldiers. That soldier performs the greatest service to his nation who dies fighting when it is necessary, but retreats when nothing can be gained by his remaining longer at the post. He thus saves himself for future service.

Contrast this incident with the story of Horatius at the bridge. He and his two companions held off the invaders until the bridge tottered; then his companions went back, while Horatius stood fast to make sure that the bridge fell. After the bridge had

fallen, he did not remain, a useless sacrifice, but "plunged headlong in the tide" and swam to safety. This is more nearly the modern ideal.

Again, take the last words of the Spartan mother to her son as he went forth to battle. "Come back with your shield or on it." Contrast with this the story of the Roman youth who suffered his hand to be burned to a crisp rather than reveal the secret of his city's defense. The same ideal is shown in the legend of the king's son who, in full armor, leaped into the chasm caused by the earthquake in order that the city might be saved; he was "the city's greatest treasure."

The illustrations of the Spartan ideal show devotion to the state, an ideal of service that is admirable, but it is by no means so pure in its sacrifice of self for the public good as the Roman. Always one sees the personal element, the ideal of individual perfection. While the Spartan ideal is somewhat more extreme than the Athenian, it nevertheless is true that the Greek ideal contained an element of personal conduct, of individual perfection, apart from its relation to service to the state. It was a disgrace for the individual to turn his back to his foe, to lose his shield, to retreat even though, by retreating, he could again fight for his state. The Roman ideal had little of this personal element; individuality was completely swallowed up in the larger whole. The Roman gave himself wholeheartedly to the service of the state, but, when his state could no longer be saved, he saw no virtue in sacrificing himself. This is strikingly like our own point of view, and, since it is so similar, the stories of Roman devotion can be used to good advantage in our own schools; but because it is one-sided and does not take account of the worth of the individual as such, it is not complete. The Greek ideal, as we have seen, contains the two elements that are essential in all human life, but they had not fully harmonized them. Our great problem is to correlate and harmonize these elements in such a way that each individual will be able to attain his own highest development only by service to the state and that the state will be safest when it can secure the highest development of the individual. In solving this problem, the Athenian method is more suggestive than the Roman, but neither gives us much help.

IV. Occupations

What, then, was the life for which the Roman boy was to prepare, and what part did the school take in his preparation? Turning again to the political organization of Rome, we find that the poor boy of plebeian parentage could never hope to have any real part in the government. Only the patrician boys could look forward to political influence or to full citizenship. The poorer boys, for the most part, followed the vocation of their fathers and probably began their apprenticeship at an age varying from twelve to fourteen years. Little, if any, provision was made for them in the Roman schools. Accordingly we must restrict our discussion to the sons of patrician parents, as we did in the case of Athenian education. A boy of this class might look forward to one of several careers. He might, as in the case of poorer boys, enter the occupation of his father and receive direct instruction from him, either in the profession or in the duties of manager. He might go into the army, in which case he went into service as soon as he assumed the *toga virilis*, which Roman boys did at the age of sixteen. He might also go into public life, which involved among other lines of work that of lawyer or jurist. There were also many opportunities in the civil service in the provinces and in foreign countries.

V. The Schools of the Romans

When we come to the consideration of the institutions through which the Roman boy was educated, we find an essential difference between Roman and Athenian education. As we have seen, the Athenians forged out their system of education to meet their needs. Their institutions were their own; the subjects studied were largely indigenous—at least no foreign language was taught—and the literature studied was to all intents their own.

A. Elementary Education

Very early, Greek ideas and methods began to affect Roman education. It is doubtful whether there was ever even an

elementary school in Rome until it was introduced through Greek influence; at least, it was not well organized, nor was it important. Whatever claims may be made for the *ludus* as a real Roman institution, there can be no doubt that the organization of Roman education was due to Athenian influence and that the secondary school and the higher school as well were direct importations from the Athenians. Wherever the Romans came into contact with the Athenians, in Greece and in the colonies, they found a more or less well-organized system of schools. These they simply appropriated as they began to feel the need of institutions of this kind.

During the period from the third century B.C. to the time of Quintilian, the education and training of the boy of the patrician class was fairly definitely organized. Elementary education began at the age of six or seven and was conducted either by tutors at home or in the *ludus*, as the school was first called. (After Athenian influence became dominant, it was called after the name of the teacher, the school of the *litterator*.) Here boys and girls were taught reading and writing and simple computations; the Twelve Tables, which was the fundamental Roman law, were committed to memory. The principal textbook used in reading was a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* made by Livius Andronicus about 230 B.C. It is also probable that in many cases the study of Greek was begun by the conversational method. Here we can see one fundamental difference between Athenian and Roman education. The Athenians used for reading literature embodying their own ideals and traditions; the Romans, while making a limited use of their own myths and traditions, used a textbook that embodied traditions and ideals somewhat foreign to their own life. They also gave little place to physical exercises and considered music, except some national songs, out of place. All the work was of an intensely practical nature; the hours were long, and the discipline severe. This elementary training lasted until the boy was about twelve years old. We cannot tell what proportion of Roman boys received this elementary training, but it is probable that most of them could at least read and write and make simple computations in

arithmetic. Few, except patrician boys, received more than this.

B. Secondary Education

The second period of training began at about the age of twelve and ended at fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, usually at sixteen. There were two types of grammar schools, the Greek and the Latin, called, from the name of the teacher, the school of the *grammaticus* or the school of the *litteratus*. Both of these schools were the result of Greek influence, but the Latin school was not established until about the beginning of the first century B.C. It was considered best for the boy to attend the Greek school first. Laurie says: "Greek was . . . the leading study of the secondary schools and was acquired as if it were a native tongue. The advanced pupils spoke and wrote Greek."[1] In these schools, some arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music were taught, all from the practical standpoint, but the principal subjects were grammar and rhetoric. Grammar included not only some technical Greek and Latin grammar but literature as well. The students committed to memory portions of Homer and made a somewhat critical and interpretative study of other literature, chiefly Greek, although later considerable Latin literature was added to the course. The study of rhetoric included drill in the forms of speech and practice in writing and speaking and had as its chief aim correctness of expression or mastery of language. The teaching of rhetoric, however, was intended not to furnish complete preparation for the lawyer or the public speaker but only to supply the training needed by every Roman of the higher class. Astronomy, instead of being a Pegasus, as with the Athenians, to carry one to the realms of pure thought, was shorn of its wings and made to serve as a hack to compute the festal days. Music was studied as an aid to an understanding of rhythm, of poetry. In all this, we see the attempt of the Romans (1) to adopt a foreign institution invented by the Athenians and (2)

[1] Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1895, p. 359.

to adapt it in its organization and subject matter to their own needs.

C. Higher Training

As we have seen, the Roman boy became a citizen at the age of sixteen, and his training beyond this point was dependent upon his choice of a career. He at once began definite preparation for the vocation that he selected, whatever that might be. An important element in his preparation was the incidental training that he received from association with his father. This was definite, practical training for leadership. After assuming the *toga virilis*, he was a great deal in the company of his father, being present at the reception of the *clientes* in the early morning, going with him to the forum and on the streets, and even being allowed to go to the Senate house with him and to festive banquets.

Up to the time of Cicero, the great majority of boys of the patrician class received no school training beyond that already described. There was one vocation, however, for which a further preparation was needed, and that was the vocation or profession of the lawyer, the jurist, or, as the Romans called it, the "orator." He was the outstanding leader. The Roman ideal of the orator was broad, not narrow, and corresponds in many respects to our own ideal of the statesman. It is really more like our own ideals than is the Athenian ideal, that of the philosopher. The orator, according to the Roman concept, was the well-trained, thoroughly educated man who devoted his life to the state, who definitely prepared himself for office holding, for political leadership, for influencing and even directing the affairs of state.

Training for the profession of orator was given in the school of the *rhetor*, which was established at Rome during the first century B.C. and was a distinct vocational or professional school. It was not sharply marked off from the lower school; for many grammatical schools specialized in rhetoric, and language elements were introduced into rhetoric schools. It is also probable that boys sometimes entered the rhetoric school before the age of

sixteen. Its chief purpose, however, was to furnish the necessary training for successful public speaking. At its best this training was very effective. In charge of the master, the boys visited the forum, where they heard public questions discussed; they listened to the speeches of lawyers made in the courts and saw how justice was administered. They made a critical study of the great orators of Greece and Rome in order to become acquainted with the approved forms and ideals of oratory. They had formal and informal discussions and debates on public questions. These were supervised by the *rhetor*, who gave personal suggestions and criticisms to each. Every boy had to write speeches and deliver them in the presence of his teacher and classmates, who were very free in their criticisms. The students were drilled in three types of speeches: deliberative, suited to the senate and like bodies; judicial, for the law courts; and panegyric, for general public occasions, what we would now call "Fourth of July" orations, memorial addresses, etc. The matter of the oration was analyzed into exordium, statement, argument, amplification, and rebuttal; the style, memorization, and delivery all received due attention.

While the principal emphasis was placed on training for public speaking, other subjects were taught, all of which had more or less direct bearing on the main purpose of the school. As it finally became crystallized, the curriculum included the following studies: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy—almost exactly the studies later included in the seven liberal arts.

The length of time spent in this school we do not know; probably no set period was required. We do know that one who wished to become a real leader did not stop here but went on to higher work such as was offered at the University of Athens, the University of Alexandria, and later at the University of Rome. This further training does not concern us, for it is beyond the limits of what we call secondary education. So far as can be determined, rhetorical schools were not necessarily preparatory schools, but the training given in them was of undoubted help to those who went to the universities, which required for entrance

merely the kind of preparation that was given in the school of the *grammaticus*.

Roman secondary schools, then, comprised the schools of the *litteratus*, *grammaticus*, and *rhetor*, the professional school. These schools existed side by side and were under varied auspices. Some were private, some municipal, and some state controlled, but they may all be properly considered parts of the system by which the Romans sought to educate and train boys of a select group for leadership.

VI. Contribution to American Secondary Education

What, then, are the contributions of Roman secondary education to our study of methods of training for leadership? While these may not be so distinct in all cases as those of Athenian education, yet, for the most part, they are clear and suggestive.

In most respects, the Roman method of training for leadership was much inferior to the Athenian, at least from the American point of view. This is largely because there are fewer points of similarity between our own form of government and that of Rome. In Athens and Rome alike, training was given only to a select group of boys, but in Athens all boys of this group had the same training whether they were to be military leaders or leaders in politics and law. Their education thus formed a reasonably broad basis for leadership which was common to those in different branches of public activity and not only operated to secure that "all-roundedness," or symmetry, that was one of the Athenian ideals but also contributed to the development of mutual understanding and sympathy between the active leaders of the state. In Rome, the training was more definitely and narrowly specialized. As we have seen, much of it was by mere apprenticeship, and the only training given in schools to those over sixteen years old was the professional training given to boys who were to become lawyers or statesmen, or orators. This was specialized work; while it was broad, yet it aimed only to develop the orator and had nothing in common with the training of the military leader. As compared with Athenian education at the time of Pericles, the Roman system was intensive and formal.

Another noteworthy difference is the lack of any period of compulsory service in Rome, either military or civil. In this respect, also, the Athenian method has much more to offer us than has the Roman.

In some respects, the Roman method was more practical than the Athenian. The Roman son of wealthy parents, no matter what line of work he was to enter, thoroughly learned the fundamental law of the land, the Twelve Tables, and also actually saw these in practical operation. Whenever the father met his *clientes* in the early morning hours, he acted as judge and jury, discussing justice in accordance with the law. The relations of masters to slaves were determined also by these basal laws. The Roman boy must have had thoroughly fixed in his mind these ideas of justice and the principles upon which the laws were based. It would be difficult to devise a method better suited to the needs of the ruling Roman than this. It again emphasizes the necessity for devising ways in which we can secure for our young people opportunities for the observation of governmental activities at work and also for active participation in some form of public service.

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2. Graves, Frank Pierrepont, *A History of Education before the Middle Ages*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909, Chap. XIII.

3. Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1895.

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CHAPTER VI

ENGLAND AND ENGLISH SCHOOLS

I. English and American Ideals

England offers a very profitable field for the study of leadership phenomena. It is especially interesting to Americans because of the many points of similarity between the two nations and the two peoples and also because of some rather striking differences.

1. Conflicting Ideals in English Life.—To the American visitor, England seems at first sight to be a country where many different and antagonistic ideals are at work. The reverence for royalty, the regard for rank, for birth, and for position would seem to indicate that aristocratic ideals predominate. On the other hand, the efficient and impartial courts, the freedom of speech, the parliamentary system quickly responsive to changes in public opinion clearly reveal the democratic ideals of the people. England seems to be a battleground between the democratic ideals which are fundamental in English thinking and the aristocratic forms inherited from the past and evident in the mode of life, the habits, the customs, in school, in government, in social and economic life.

2. Conflicting Ideals in American Life.—Visitors to the United States observe some very striking and startling features of our national life—lynchings, murders, kidnaping, restrictions on liberty of speech and of action, the flagrant violations of law that go unpunished, the disgraceful inefficiency and delay of our courts, and the loopholes through which the wealthy may escape the just penalties of their misdeeds. We can hardly blame visitors who make these observations for concluding that "the land of the free and the home of the brave" is a misnomer.

3. Basic Resemblances.—If one looks beneath these external manifestations, one finds that the two countries are singularly

alike in basic ideals. Both are fundamentally democratic; each country in its own way and under the conditions that face it is attempting to embody these ideals in its social, political, and economic life. Much remains to be done, but there has been real progress.

In spite of the enormous influx of immigrants with background, religion, and ideals foreign to American ideals, the United States is still essentially Anglo-Saxon and Protestant in spirit. She is struggling valiantly and, on the whole, successfully to keep these ideals. As a nation, she started as nearly "from scratch" as is possible. She had no traditions except what the colonists brought with them; there was no hereditary aristocracy, no ready-made form of government. There were boundless resources; the frontier was ever-present with its dangers and its opportunities; and emphasis was of necessity placed upon the worth of the individual. Whatever differences of rank and position there were among the early colonists did not long survive the exigencies of this frontier life. It was an environment well adapted for the development of those democratic ideals that were present in the lives of the Puritans.

On the contrary, in England these fundamental ideals of democracy were only slowly developed on a background of centuries of feudalism and hereditary privilege. It is not strange that relics of the aristocratic past still remain, but England is slowly but surely working toward a more complete expression of these ideals. Probably the two best illustrations of her progress are (1) the judicial system and (2) the Civil Service. England has achieved legal equality to a remarkable degree; she has established an effective civil-service system; but social, economic, and educational equality she has yet to attain.

II. Sources of Leaders

A democracy demands leaders, and, if it be a real democracy, these leaders must be chosen from as wide a field as possible; their selection must not be limited to any single group or class. As we shall see, in this respect England has yet a long distance to go;

she has not yet emerged from the stage of hereditary aristocracy. The prevailing feeling among all classes, rich and poor, hereditary aristocracy and lowborn, is not so much that leadership in politics and affairs of government is the right of the aristocratic few as that leadership material is for the most part to be found only or mainly in this class and that the well-being of the nation demands that that class assume the responsibility. The very significant investigations of Laski, Nightingale, and Tawney testify to the practical results of this feeling.

1. The British Cabinet.—Laski[1] investigated the antecedents and education of members of the British Cabinet from 1801 to 1924. Table I gives in somewhat condensed form the results of this study.

A word of explanation regarding the categories used may be helpful. The purpose of the category "social status" is to indicate the place that the aristocracy has had in the Cabinet. It is impossible to secure data that will be entirely accurate in this respect. The aristocratic class, in so far as there is one, includes all those who have titles or who are closely related to those who have them. The category "sons of nobility" includes only those members of the Cabinet who were sons of men possessing hereditary titles. Since the title passes to the eldest son, sons of younger sons (and daughters) of men with titles are not included and, in fact, are not members of the aristocracy. The category also excludes all who themselves held titles but whose fathers did not. For centuries it has been the common practice in England to confer titles upon men who have, for one reason or another, rendered outstanding service to their country or have distinguished themselves in art, science, medicine, etc. It will thus be seen that the numbers given are too small, how much too small no one can say. Under "education," if a Cabinet member attended two universities, he is credited with both. Under "educated at other Public Schools," only the seven most prominent (excluding Eton and Harrow) are included. Under "occupation," a man is listed under the occupation in which he is

[1] Laski, Harold J., *The British Cabinet*, 1801–1924, *Fabian Tract* 223, London: The Fabian Society, 1928. Used by special permission of the publisher.

TABLE III.—THE PERSONNEL OF THE BRITISH CABINET, 1801–1924[1]

Parentage and education	1801–1831		1832–1866		1867–1884		1885–1905		1906–1916		1917–1924		1801–1924	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Social status:														
1. Sons of nobility	52	73	64	64	35	60	40	58	25	49	14	27	182	60−
2. Sons of other parents	19	27	36	36	23	40−	29	42	26	51	38	73	124	40+
b. Education:														
3. Educated at Oxford	24	34	38	38	12	21−	35	51	20	39	18	35	118	35
4. Educated at Cambridge	24	34	30	30	12	21−	17	25	16	31	9	17	81	26
5. Educated at other British universities	7	10	10	10	3	5	5	7	5	10	4	8−	26	9−
6. Educated at Eton	20	28	27	27	20	34	25	36	12	23	6	12−	83	27
7. Educated at Harrow	9	12	11	11	5	9−	9	13	5	10	8	15	36	12−
8. Educated at other Public schools	13	18	17	17	9	15	12	17	8	16	11	21	53	17
c. Occupation:														
9. Lawyers	4	6−	12	12	9	15	9	13	9	18	8	15	42	14
10. Soldiers and sailors	2	3−	3	3	1	2−	0	....	1	2	1	2	8	3−
11. Business men	1	1	5	5	6	10	6	9−	5	10	4	8−	23	7
12. Civil servants	1	1	2	2	1	2−	0	....	0	....	1	2	3	1
13. Men of letters and journalists	0	....	3	3	1	2−	1	11	3	6	3	6−	9	3+
14. Trade unionists	..	....	...	..	..	....	..	....	2	4−	8	15	8	3−
Total number of ministers	71	....	100	..	58	....	69	....	51	....	52	....	[2]306	

[1] Compiled from the study by Harold J. Laski.

[2] The reader should be warned that the totals in the last column need not be the sum of the different categories, for one man may have been in several different cabinets; nor will the totals at each period be the sum of the numbers above.

regarded as earning his livelihood, even though he may be prominent in other ways.

The table, page 73, shows very clearly the preponderating number of sons of the nobility. During the entire period, nearly 60 per cent of all the members of the Cabinet came from this restricted class. The percentage varied from 73 in the first period to only 27 in the last period, showing the increasing democratization in this line of public service. The data under "occupation" tell the same story; less than a third of all the Cabinet members have occupations of any kind listed, but there is a significant increase from 11 per cent in the first period to 40 per cent in the last period. This heading really shows the autocratic influence better than the data under "sons of nobility," for under it would be included many members of the higher classes who, while not sons of titled men, (1) were themselves titled, (2) were closely related to those who had titles, and (3) had incomes that made it unnecessary for them to engage in an occupation. The aristocratic tendency is shown also in the education of British statesmen. Seventy per cent were educated at British universities, half of them at Oxford, and 56 per cent came from the nine leading English Public Schools, nearly half of these from Eton. Since the great majority of those who have in the past attended the Public Schools and gone to Oxford and Cambridge came from the aristocracy, these figures add weight to the conclusions already made. It is apparent that the sources from which the British Cabinet have been selected were in large measure the aristocracy. Laski also points out that the source is really much more restricted than the figures would indicate.

> Broadly speaking, the aristocracy with which we are concerned consists of a thousand families; but the actual number from which Cabinet ministers have been drawn is much smaller. The Cecil family and its relatives, for example, have contributed six Cabinet ministers to the total; the House of Grey five; the House of Stanley four; four families have three Cabinet ministers each, and twenty-seven families two each. Among commoners, not unnaturally, no such persistent attainment of office exists. Two Gladstones, three Chamberlains, two Harcourts and two Balfours exhaust the list.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

2. The British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service.—Nightingale[1] adds significant data in a study of another branch of service. The Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service are undoubtedly more influential in shaping British policies than even the Cabinet itself. Here the working personnel is relatively permanent. Even though secretaries and diplomatists change with political change, they must of necessity delegate a large amount of authority to the chief permanent officials. Table IV gives a general picture of the personnel in these two lines of service.

The conclusions from this table may well be quoted from the study itself:

> The table on p. 76 provides a broad picture of the nature of the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service during the last eighty years. The most striking deduction is that 53 per cent belong to the aristocracy or the gentry. Twenty-two per cent were sons of men following one or other of the professions, but only 4 per cent came from business families. Among parents dependent on their own efforts for a livelihood, civil servants and soldiers form easily the largest categories. The extent of heredity is worthy of remark: 12 per cent were sons of members of the Foreign Office or the Diplomatic Service, and if the Counsular Service and the rest of the administrative Civil Service are included, the percentage is 17. Investigation shows that the tendency for sons to follow their fathers in a diplomatic career was more marked in the earlier part of the period. Rather surprisingly, among those included in this analysis, only six were the sons of politicians.
>
> Attendance at one or other of the great English Public Schools is the hall-mark of a high social position. Sixty per cent went to the eleven most exclusive schools. Of the remaining 40 per cent, well over one-half attended the lesser public schools, received a military or naval education, or were educated privately or abroad. Only nine men out of 249 have been traced who went to schools other than the recognised public schools and the military and naval colleges, and of these five were not diplomatists *de carrière*. Forty-five per cent of the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service went to the two foremost schools in the country, and over one-third were Etonians.

[1] Nightingale, Robert T., *The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851–1929, Fabian Tract* 232, London: The Fabian Society, 1930. Used by special permission of the publisher.

TABLE IV.—PERSONNEL OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE AND DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1851–1929[1]

Occupation of parents and education	Foreign office		Diplomatic service		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Parental Occupation:						
1. Aristocrats	17	30−	82	39	93	36
2. Rentiers	6	11	36	17	39	15
3. Foreign Office	1	2−	3	1	4	2−
4. Diplomatic Service	4	7	10	4	12	5−
5. Consular Service	1	2−	5	2	6	2+
6. Other Civil-service Departments	4	7	6	3	7	3
7. Church	2	4−	11	5−	13	5
8. Law	3	5	8	4−	10	4
9. Army	5	9	19	9	24	9
10. Navy	1	2−	3	1	3	1
11. Medicine	..	....	4	2	4	2−
12. Parliament	4	7	3	1	6	2+
13. Business	2	4−	9	4+	10	4
14. Literature	..	....	2	1−	2	1
15. Academic	..	....	1	0.5	1	0.5
16. Stage	1	2	...	....	1	0.5
17. Unclassified	6	11	8	4−	14	6−
Total	57		210		249	
b. School:						
1. Eton	27	47	67	32	85	33
2. Harrow	6	11	23	11	27	10
3. Leading Public Schools	6	11	36	17	38	15
4. Lesser Public Schools	4	7	22	10	26	10
5. Other Schools	..	....	9	4+	9	3−
6. Military and Naval Colleges	..	....	5	2	5	2−
7. Privately	1	2−	18	9−	18	7−
8. Abroad	2	4−	9	4+	10	4
9. Unclassified	11	20−	21	10	31	12
Total	57		210		249	
c. University:						
1. Oxford	15	26	62	30−	72	28
2. Cambridge	9	16−	31	15−	36	14
3. London	..	....	2	1	2	1
4. Edinburgh	..	....	3	1	3	1
5. Glasgow	..	....	1	0.5	1	0.5
6. Dublin	..	....	5	2	5	2
7. Belfast	..	....	2	1	2	1
8. Foreign Universities	3	5	5	2	7	3
9. No university	24	42	100	48	115	45+
10. Unclassified	7	12	5	2	12	5−
Total	58		216		255	

[1] Compiled from NIGHTINGALE, ROBERT T., London: The Fabian Society, 1930.

The statistics of university education bear out the inferences already clear. Of those who received higher education 90 per cent went to either Oxford or Cambridge. The remaining 10 per cent are accounted for by three who went to Edinburgh and seven who went to Irish universities. Not a single man went exclusively to London University. By far the largest category in this column, however, consists of those who went to no university at all. It is significant that only about one man in two of those occupying the selected posts in the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service was university-trained.

A comparison of the two services shows that the Diplomatic Service is the more socially exclusive. The aristocratic and rentier classes form 56 per cent of the Diplomatic Service, but only 40 per cent of the Foreign Office. This fact is probably due to the attraction to men of noble birth of service abroad in an environment of Courts and aristocratic society, and equally no doubt to the necessity until recently for ample private means to supplement the diplomatist's official salary. A perceptibly higher proportion of the Foreign Office personnel consists of Public-School men, and indeed no member of the Foreign Office has been traced who has attended any school in this country other than the Public Schools.[1]

However, further data given in the study indicate the same well-defined movement toward democratization, especially in the Diplomatic Service. This tendency resulted, at least in part, from reforms made in 1919, by which the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service were united into a single Foreign Office, certain restrictions were removed, and entrance into the service was made somewhat similar to that of the Civil Service. Certain changes were produced which, however, have not as yet made these services representative of all classes of the community. "The unchallengeable conclusion that emerges from this statistical analysis is that the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service have been a preserve for the sons of the aristocratic, rentier, and professional classes."[2]

3. The Professions.—The same facts regarding the restricted sources from which leaders come are emphasized in the study by Tawney, reported on pages 98–100, of the schools attended by

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

members of different professions. Bishops, deans, judges, home and Indian servants, governors of Dominions, directors of banks and of railways—all come from the same class.

4. Conclusion.—The data given are clear evidence of the restricted source of leaders in England. We cannot say that in England a ruling class dominates by imposing its will upon the mass, but rather that the mental attitude of the whole nation is one that takes for granted the idea that leaders will come chiefly, at least, from a certain group. This attitude results in making a particular class "leadership conscious," confident of their ability to lead and conscious of their responsibility. It also results in a certain apathy on the part of most of those not in this class, an unwillingness to assume responsibility when the opportunity comes. They do not think of themselves as possible leaders or as having responsibility. They would rather stay in the ranks than assume that responsibility.

This attitude of mind, pervading all classes especially the lower, leaders of the nation are trying earnestly to change. Their efforts are beginning to produce results. The change, once started, will be slow, in accordance with British tradition, but it will be sure.

III. Avenues for Leadership

It has already been pointed out that adequate leadership cannot be obtained unless avenues are provided through which and by means of which leaders may be selected and trained, unless definite opportunity is given for the exercise of leadership through a more or less graded service of activities from small responsibilities to large responsibilities. What avenues, if any, have been provided in England?

1. The Laissez-faire Policy.—England and the United States exhibit the same characteristics. Their system for selecting leaders, if it can be called a system, is in most respects that of *laissez faire*. The general belief is that genius will make itself felt, will find a way of expression, and that, if certain restrictions are removed, leaders will find their way to the top.

In England, few definite avenues for leadership are provided. Advancement in professions, in business, in commerce is often, if not usually, a matter of chance or influence either in securing the first job or in subsequent promotion. Many men openly and frankly believe that this is the best policy. "We should not coddle young men; leadership is developed by hard knocks; the best survive; and that is all we want."

It may well be questioned whether the best always do survive, whether this is, after all, the wisest policy. True democracy demands for all an equal opportunity to receive training to secure positions and to attain advancement on the basis of ability alone. It is perfectly clear that in all or most of the professions there are no definite avenues through which individuals may attain leadership; their superiors select them. "Advancement," "promotion," too often mean change of job or even of occupation. The successful teacher is "promoted" (*i.e.*, changed) to the position of principal, or headmaster, or dean, or president. He is "promoted" *out* of the type of work in which he was successful rather than promoted *in his job*. The same criticism may be applied to many other professions and to business. Thus it not infrequently happens that a person is "promoted" to a position for which he is not at all qualified. In the army and navy, as in many other lines of work, promotion usually comes by seniority rather than by ability. In order to secure positions of larger authority, one needs to do one's job reasonably well and live long. If a sufficient number of older men die or retire, one's promotion is secured. This system, while doubtless having some virtue, especially in the absence of adequate tests of merit or of courage to discriminate among subordinates, fails to provide incentives for the exceptionally able and to assure their selection.

2. The Civil Service.—England has in its Civil Service a very real and efficient system not only for the selection of leaders but also for avenues through which leaders may rise. The Civil Service in England is without doubt honest, impartial, and effective. It has five general classes:

1. Administrative.
2. Executive.

3. Clerical.
4. Writing assistants.
5. Typists.

Admission is by competitive examination only, and the examination is open, with certain restrictions regarding age, experience, education, and special qualifications, to everyone on terms of equality. Promotion is effected, not only in each class but from class to class, usually by examination, though previous service also counts. The Civil Service is rapidly being extended and provides increasing opportunities for all types of ability and all types of people, women as well as men. Even here, however, especially in the higher positions, family, cultural background, and influence, count heavily.

IV. The English Schools

English schools differ in many respects from those in the United States, and we can obtain no clear understanding of how they stand in relation to the question of selecting and training leaders without a knowledge of some of these differences.

1. Origin.—The English system of education as it is today is the result of long years of more or less spontaneous growth with little clear, definite planning. It grew up in response to certain felt needs. It was not until the present century that any adequate or well-marked plan was adopted. The English system really developed from the top down: first the university, then the secondary school, and last of all the primary school. It began as a means of training the select few—selected chiefly because of family and social position but secondarily because of ability.[1] It has slowly extended its scope to include all children, at least up to the age of fifteen, and is gradually but surely breaking away from the original aristocratic basis of selection.

[1] It is interesting to note that the purpose of the Public Schools was stated in the exact language adopted by the Latin grammar schools in Colonial America: "That there never be found wanting a due supply of persons well qualified to serve God in Church and State." The purpose of the schools was the same; their sources of supply were different.

2. Influence of Certain Schools.—While changes of far-reaching importance have taken place during the last two or three decades, the old system, the old schools have, upon all English education, a dominating influence that can hardly be overestimated. There are no universities in America that can compare with Oxford and Cambridge in their influence upon the lower schools and in their relative importance as centers for the training of leaders. It is not so much that the training that they give is superior to that of less notable universities—indeed, it may well be questioned whether it is as good in some departments—but the traditional reputation of these institutions is such that their graduates are sought after everywhere, and most of the best young men and women desire to get their degrees from Oxford or Cambridge. Recognition and advancement are much more certain with the influence of these institutions behind one. On that account, Oxford and Cambridge set the pattern for other universities to follow.

The same may be said for the Great Public Schools. While few in number as compared with private and provided—or state-supported—schools, they are looked up to as models, unattainable it may be, but models, nevertheless, by the great majority of schoolmen in all types of school. Their graduates are eagerly sought after by employers, and in certain branches of government service practically monopolize the positions, as may be seen by reference to Tables III and IV (pages 73 and 76). It is, then, small wonder that other schools seek to follow in their steps as best they may.

3. Voluntary Bodies.—Voluntary, that is, nongovernmental, educational agencies play a much larger part in England than in America. They provide all sorts of education—nursery schools, special schools, elementary schools, preparatory schools, secondary schools, technical schools, training colleges, and adult-education classes. They may be financed entirely by individuals, by corporations, or by churches, or they may receive direct grants from local education authorities or the Board of Education. In the past, these schools have played a very important part in providing educational facilities, and they are still considered by

the Board of Education as an essential part of the system of schools.

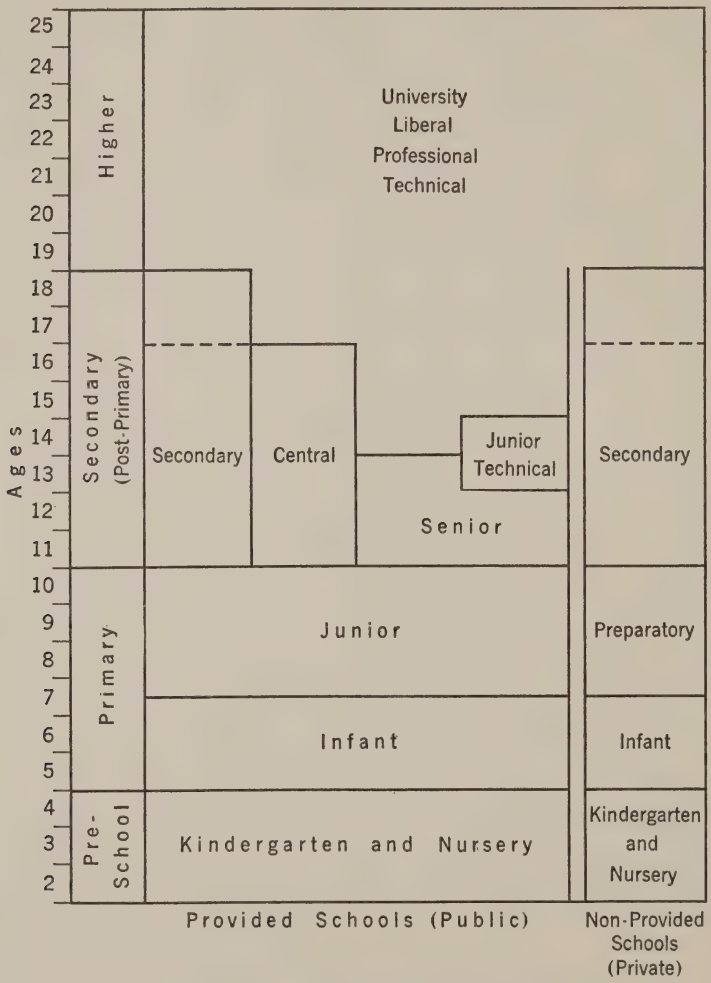

FIG. 1.—Organization of English schools.

4. External Organization.—It may be well at this point to give a very brief description of the general organization of schools in England as they are today. While no diagram can show all

types of organization, the one here presented may help to show the essential features.

a. Primary and Postprimary Schools.—As can be seen in the diagram, the horizontal organization of schools is (1) primary schools from the age of five to ten, and (2) postprimary schools from ages ten to eighteen or nineteen. The primary schools are subdivided into infant schools, ages five to seven or eight; and junior schools, ages seven or eight to ten or eleven. The postprimary schools are variously organized, but in general they comprise what are now known as secondary schools, central, and senior schools. The junior technical and trade schools are vocational and are administered separately. As is the case with nearly every other aspect of English education, the nonsecondary type of postprimary school shows great variation in different centers. Much experimentation is now being carried on with the purpose of finding the type of organization best suited to a given locality.

b. Elementary and Secondary Schools.—As generally used at present, there is a definite overlapping of terms that may be confusing to the American reader. At present, the term "elementary school" includes primary schools and nonsecondary postprimary schools. The term "secondary school" is reserved for the postprimary school which in its academic curriculum corresponds roughly to that of the American high school. The name has a technical though somewhat indefinite meaning. "A secondary school is a school which provides full-time education of a general as distinct from a vocational character for children from about 11 years of age to about 17 years or more."[1] (Regulations of the Board of Education.)

[1] For several years there has been definite agitation in favor of including all postprimary schools under the term "secondary." This is strongly urged in the Hadow Report. "It is desirable that education up to 11 should be known by the general name of Primary Education and education after 11 by the general name of secondary education." (Report of the Consultation Committee, *Education of the Adolescent*, London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1926, p. 95.) It was still more strongly urged by R. H. Tawney even before the Hadow Report. "The division of education into 'elementary' and 'secondary' as interpreted and organized hitherto, is educationally

The secondary school as now interpreted is intended to be for those who plan to go on to a university, to the naval, army, and air training schools, and to some form of professional training. Its curriculum is largely linguistic, mathematical, and scientific, distinctly "cultural" and nonvocational. The cultural value of the classics, modern foreign languages, and mathematics is strongly stressed, and the belief is general that a cultural training, thus interpreted, is a fundamental requisite for any kind of further training.

It will thus be seen that the primary school corresponds to the six-grade elementary school in the United States and the entire postprimary system corresponds to the secondary schools of America with their junior and senior high schools (in some respects we should also include the junior colleges). Most comparisons of American schools with English schools entirely overlook this fact.

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unsound and socially obnoxious. It results in (a) a grave waste of talent, (b) the exclusion from the secondary schools of children who ought to enter them, (c) the imposition on the primary schools of the task of educating children between twelve and fourteen, for which they may not be specially fitted, (d) waste and inefficiency from overlapping. It should therefore be abolished, and in place of it schools should be graded as follows:

(1) Primary for all children up to 11 or 12, subdivided into:—

(a) Nursery and Infant Schools for all children up to the age of seven.

(b) Preparatory schools for all children between the ages of 7 and 12.

(2) Secondary, for boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16–18.

(3) Higher, providing education for a university type." (Tawney, R. H., *Secondary Education for All—a Policy for Labour*, London: The Labour Party, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1923, p. 11.) E. Percival Smith, writing in 1934, almost takes it for granted that the new terms will soon be accepted. "Secondary education in its most comprehensive form, comprises a very wide range of schools extending from the great independent 'public' schools on the one hand, to the newly-established 'central' and 'senior' schools on the other. . . . Generally speaking, as has been indicated, they pursue a double aim: to develop intellectual ability and inculcate a social and cultural standard of living. In other words, the aim is to fit a boy for a job and to teach him to live in such a way that his job and his life as a whole may be set in the right perspective." (Smith, E. Percival, *The Function of the Secondary School.* The Year Book of Education, 1934, Lord Eustace Percy, ed., London: Evans Brothers, Ltd., 1935, pp. 384, 386.)

It is very important to remember the difference between the two countries regarding the provision for postprimary education. In America, all normal children proceed from the sixth grade of the elementary school (which corresponds to the end of the English primary school) to the secondary school, and they usually go to the same school, the junior high school. We attempt, with more or less success, to differentiate the work in this school to meet the needs of different types of pupils: those of low ability and those of high ability; those who plan to go on to college and those who do not; those with specialized interests and abilities and those who wish a general education.

In England, a more or less sharp differentiation is made at the end of the primary school. For all pupils who have not attended the preparatory division of the secondary school, an examination is given. This is sometimes set by an external authority, such as the education committee of the county council, and sometimes by the secondary school itself. Often the examination set by the local education committee is supplemented by one given by the secondary school. This examination consists usually of questions in English and in arithmetic. Occasionally an intelligence test is added. On the whole, those who stand high in this test are eligible to attend a secondary school on a scholarship or special-place basis if they cannot afford to pay the rates set by the school. But in England there is a great difference between being eligible to attend and actually being able to attend. The student may not be able to find a secondary school that will admit him. The headmaster of the English secondary school is a law unto himself in the admission of pupils to his school. The pupil may stand very high in the examination, but may not be the type of boy or girl whom the headmaster thinks suitable for the school. If in the oral examination the boy shows characteristics that the headmaster does not like, he is merely refused admittance on the ground that he is not good secondary-school material. He may then apply to other schools, but may still not find one that will accept him. Most secondary schools are so limited in facilities that they have many more applicants than can possibly be accommodated.

Pupils who do not attend a secondary school, either because they do not stand high enough in the qualifying examination or because they can find no secondary school to attend, must attend a nonsecondary postprimary school at least until they are fourteen. Such schools are usually central schools, senior schools, or junior technical schools (not classified as elementary schools). Another examination is given to determine fitness to enter the central school, and those who stand sufficiently high are eligible for entrance. Apparently, then the three types of school—secondary, central, and senior—may be clearly distinguished by the scholastic or mental abilities of the pupils, those of highest ability being in the secondary school and those of lowest ability in the senior schools. While this generalization would be in some measure correct, it by no means gives a clear idea of the situation, for many other factors must be taken into account. Among these are the following:

1. The length of the course in each school. The secondary-school course is six or eight years in length, and those who want to go to this type of school must give evidence that they expect to remain at least five years. The central-school course is four to six years in length, while that of the senior school is two to four years long. Some pupils of high ability do not even take the qualifying examination either because their parents, for financial or other reasons, cannot keep them in school for six years or because they themselves do not care for the secondary school.

2. The character of the school. The secondary school is considered to be a cultural school suited to the needs of cultured people. In the selection of those to be admitted, much weight is given to the "cultural background" of the pupil. So much importance is attached to this factor that places are always saved for pupils with good backgrounds, even though they might not be able to pass the qualifying examination, *if they have the financial ability to pay the fees!* Pupils who attend the preparatory division of the secondary school seldom take any sort of qualifying examination and are admitted on their "suitability" for the secondary school.

Consequently, most secondary schools are distinctly bimodal in the distribution of ability, both scholastic and mental. They

range from the highest to very low ability. The central school is also a select school, with a range of ability much more restricted than that of the secondary school. Certainly the top of the range is as high as that in the secondary school, while the lowest is much above that of the secondary school. In one London central school, the average I.Q. was 118, while the top ran as high as 150. There are also in the senior school some very high ability pupils who for one reason or another do not plan to remain in school after they are fourteen years old. This general difference (1) of purpose and (2) of ability is a very important factor in English education and in English life.

c. Provided and Nonprovided Schools.—Another classification of English schools is based upon the governing body and the source of support. Provided schools, or council or county schools, are those that are provided by a local education authority and controlled and supported by them. Nonprovided, or voluntary, schools are those established and controlled by some other agency. The support of provided schools comes from the local and national government; that of nonprovided schools may come entirely from nongovernmental sources or partly from such sources, local and national. Nonprovided schools that receive some financial support from national or local sources are called "grant-aided" schools. This term is also applied to all provided schools.

d. Types of Secondary School.—Still another common way of distinguishing secondary schools is by more or less definite types: public schools, grammar schools, county schools, private schools; also boarding schools and day schools.[1]

There is no definition of a Public School. Most of them are Boarding Schools and are therefore not local in character. Few of them receive any public aid; and generally speaking, they charge higher fees and

[1] In popular language, a distinction is made between public schools and secondary schools. There are about 150 schools that are popularly recognized as public schools. These are not usually called secondary schools even though they are so classified by the Board of Education. When the term "secondary school" is used in popular speech or writing, the type of school meant is the provided school or even any type of secondary school that is not a public school.

admit children at a rather later age (at about 13 years of age) than do other Secondary Schools. Some of them are very old foundations (*e.g.*, Eton, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby) but many of them (*e.g.*, Wellington, Marlborough, Bradfield, Stowe), have been founded within the past hundred years. As a rule boys who will enter one of the "Public Schools" receive a preliminary education of about four years' duration in a private preparatory boarding school.

Many of the Grammar Schools are ancient Foundations, but, generally speaking, they are Day Schools and therefore local in character; and a substantial number of them are now in receipt of public aid. County Schools, as the name suggests, are provided and maintained by County Councils. "Private School" means for the purposes of this pamphlet a school owned and governed by a private individual. No Private School receives public aid.[1]

e. Variation in Schools.—In England, there is probably a greater variety of educational institutions than is to be found in any other country. There is also greater variation of procedure within different schools of the same type. This is the result of the peculiar, uninterrupted growth of the schools, combined with the inherent aversion of the typical Englishman for anything developed in a hurry or according to any logical, well-considered plan. The problem of the moment looms large in his consciousness. He likes to go from this point to the next, trying to do the thing that is the best for the present situation. He is proud of "muddling through." Even the British Empire, it is said, "was founded in a fit of absence of mind." In education, these leisurely methods have delayed the establishment of any system of education, but they have resulted in decentralization in control of education and in the utilization of every conceivable agency for the education of the young.

They are also directly responsible for the large amount of freedom enjoyed by headmasters in the internal organization of their schools. Each school is vastly more of a unit in itself, with its own methods, its own peculiar spirit, its own traditions, than is the case in any other country. There is, of course, a measure of

[1] *An Outline of the Structure of the Educational System in England and Wales*, Board of Education *Educational Pamphlet* 94, London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1934, p. 19.

central control both local and national, but this control is in matters of finance rather than in matters that concern the inner workings of the school. The government inspectors are real factors in keeping the schools efficient, but they usually perform this function by helpful suggestion rather than by the exercise of authority.

Another factor that assists materially in the freedom of the individual school is the fact that the efficiency of a school is judged by its results after five or six years of work with a student, in terms of an external examination. These examinations are called the "First Examination" or, more correctly, the "School Certificate Examination," and the "Second Examination" or "Higher Certificate Examination." They are conducted by eight university bodies approved by the Board of Education. The First Examination is taken at about the age of sixteen, and the certificate given on its successful completion exempts from the matriculation examination of the universities and from the preliminary examination for entering many of the professions. After this examination, the student may stay on for another year or two and take advanced work in preparation for the Second or Higher Examination. The Higher Certificate is accepted by some universities as exempting from a part or all of the Intermediate Examination for a university degree. The great majority of boys and girls complete their education when they have reached the First or School Certificate stage. Because of this emphasis upon the terminal examination, a school may organize its work in any way it pleases. It may use any methods it chooses, it may experiment if it wishes to, *provided* it prepares its pupils for these external examinations at the *end of the course*. The proviso inevitably results in a narrowing of the work, especially in the time immediately preceding the examinations, but it also gives those *who wish to take advantage of it* the opportunity to try out new methods. It is true that most headmasters do not utilize this opportunity to the full, but it has resulted in great variation and in some experimentation.

Still another element that contributes to the individual character of the school is the comparatively long tenure of the head-

master. Ten years in one school is considered a short period of service; usually it is much longer. The headmaster thus has the opportunity to develop a real spirit in his school. English secondary schools are much more the product of a single personality than is possible in America.

5. Standards of Attainment.—When we compare the scholastic attainment of pupils in the English secondary schools with those in America, striking differences are seen. In ancient and modern foreign languages, in mathematics, and in certain phases of English, as well as in some branches of science, English pupils in the sixth form are far ahead of even the best of the graduates of our public high schools. In most cases, they are at least the equals and often the superiors of sophomores in our colleges. In continuity of work, in mastery, they are far superior; in ability to pass examinations, there is no comparison. But, granting their superiority, we should keep several things in mind.

1. We are comparing the very select group of English students, chosen by competitive examinations at entrance and at the end of the fifth form, with the entire output of our public high school. Our public high school is a school not for select pupils but for all those who have completed the six-grade elementary school, who go on to high school as a matter of course, and who are enrolled in all types of courses. As has already been pointed out, we should compare the entire postprimary English school with the American high school.

2. The comparison is usually made between English students who are ready for the Higher Certificate Examination with graduates of the American high school. The comparison should be with American college students at the end of the sophomore year.

When these two points are taken into consideration, we find the difference not so great. However, even with this in mind, there can be no doubt that English students in the fifth form—ready for the School Certificate Examination—are considerably higher in scholastic attainment than the top tenth of the seniors in our public high schools. There is in most cases a seriousness of purpose among English secondary students not usually found

among American high-school students. The English secondary school has a tradition of scholarship that sustains the efforts of the teachers. The classes are small in size, and much more individual attention can be given. In England, attendance at a secondary school is a privilege for the few, and the fear of dismissal for poor work is a constant stimulus to effort. American secondary education is the right of all, and the incentive to effort is not so great. In England, the school can plan its work with every assurance that its pupils will remain for five years at least, thus making possible a continuity that results in real mastery. In the American high school, there is no certainty that any group of students will remain in school more than a year. Consequently the work in each subject must be planned so that every pupil will receive some benefit even if he remains in the school only one year.

6. School Attendance.—In England at present, every parent is required to provide efficient elementary instruction for each child from the age of five until the age of fourteen years. This limit has been raised to fifteen years, to begin in 1939. Local education authorities have power to make by-laws requiring children to remain in school until they are fifteen. A small number of authorities have already passed such by-laws. Many are anticipating the time when the age will be raised and are now making plans to put the law into effect.

The distribution of children from eleven to sixteen years of age by various types of school and of those not in school is given in Table V and Fig. 2. These figures are not entirely accurate but sufficiently so to make clear the situation as it now is.[1]

Several facts are clearly apparent.

1. Practically all children are in some type of school until they are fourteen years of age. At fourteen only 53 per cent are in school, at fifteen only 25 per cent, and at sixteen only 20 per cent.

[1] The sources of inaccuracy are: (1) estimates of the population at each age in round numbers only; (2) discrepancies in different reports of children actually attending; (3) lack of full data regarding attendance at each type of school.

TABLE V.—STATISTICS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1934–1935[1]

Population and schools	11–12		12–13		13–14		14–15		15–16		16–17		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Estimated population	656,000		680,000		727,000		771,000		739,000		530,000		4,103,000	47–
Public elementary schools	577,767	....	554,980	....	593,244	....	177,869	....	17,224	....	1,377	....	1,922,401	
Senior schools	142,910	22	259,854	38	282,612	39–	92,267	12–	13,612	2–	1,219	0.2	807,449	
Junior reorganized	126,218	19	2,651	0.4	750	0.1	145	....	17	....	1	....	129,782	
Certified efficient	201	....	188	....	166	....	103	....	66	....	18	....	742	
Special schools[2]	6,493	1	6,788	1	7,085	1	5,102	1	3,650	0.5	438	....	52,423	
Total elementary	584,461	89	561,956	82	600,495	82	183,074	24	20,940	3–	1,833	0.3	1,975,423	48
Secondary schools[3]	51,031	8	91,130	13	101,034	14–	100,166	13	83,815	11+	40,801	8	467,977	12–
Grant aided	42,361	6+	75,881	11	84,133	12–	86,947	11	72,653	10	35,444	7–	397,419	10–
Not aided[3]	8,670	2–	15,249	2	16,901	2	13,219	2–	11,162	1	5,357	1+	70,558	2–
Day continuation classes	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	10,219	1	4,118	0.5	1,828	0.3	17,318	0.4
Evening classes	.....	....	20,000	3	20,212	3	110,875	14	75,993	10+	65,558	12	292,638	7
Junior technical schools[4]	.....	....	862	....	4,238	0.6	10,630	1	8,428	1–	2,524	0.5	26,682	0.6
Totals	635,492	....	673,948	....	725,979	....	414,964	....	193,294	....	129,654	....	2,780,038	67+

[1] Report of the Board of Education, 1936.

[2] For blind, deaf, defective, and epileptic.

[3] Includes preparatory pupils 10,000, eleven to thirteen years of age, distributed according to age distribution on p. 153 of Report of the Board of Education, 1936.

[4] Includes junior housewifery schools, junior commercial schools, junior departments in all schools, and schools for nautical training.

2. Analyzing the data regarding elementary schools, we see that not quite half the children are in senior schools (including central) and reorganized junior schools and classes leading up to senior schools. In other words, over half the elementary-school children from ages eleven to thirteen are in primary schools or

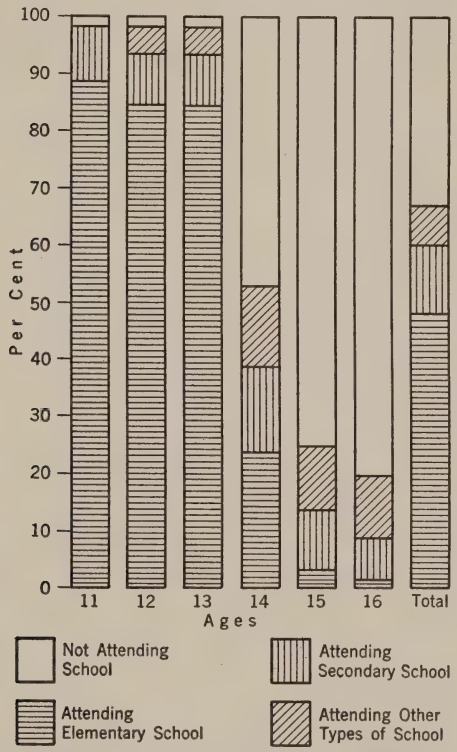

FIG. 2.—School attendance in England and Wales. Percentage of population at each age attending schools of different types.

elementary schools that provide a type of education similar to the primary schools. The proportion of children at age fourteen in that type of school is nearly half.

3. The secondary schools enroll from 8 to 14 per cent of the children in each age group eleven to sixteen. The data as given also include the preparatory pupils of ages eleven to thirteen.

From the data available, it is not possible to indicate the number of pupils enrolled in the 150 public secondary schools listed in the Headmasters' Conference and given only as schools in the grant list and schools not on the grant list. According to the report of the Board of Education, only 70,558, or 15 per cent of the secondary school pupils eleven to sixteen years of age were in nonaided secondary schools, including the preparatory schools. In other words, 3 per cent of all children eleven to sixteen years of age enrolled in postprimary schools were in nonaided secondary schools. By far the largest number of pupils enrolled in nonaided secondary schools are in the comparatively few Great Public Schools. Looking at it from another point of view, of the total estimated number of children eleven to sixteen years of age, only 11.5 per cent were enrolled in secondary schools, and a mere 2 per cent in nonaided secondary schools. If we add to the total number of secondary school pupils those of the same age in reorganized elementary schools (921,036), we find that 1,389,013 are enrolled in schools that offer something different from ordinary elementary instruction. This is 34 per cent of the total population between these ages. There are no accurate data regarding the enrollment of pupils by ages above sixteen years. According to the records of the Board of Education, only about one in four of those who passed the first examination attempt the second examination, so that the number going from the fifth into the sixth form is small. Taking the schools as they are today and have been for centuries, it is apparent that secondary education is considered as something for the select few, not for the masses of young people. England is still, as far as the actual situation is concerned, working on the idea that for the masses of children up to the age of fourteen or fifteen education limited largely to the fundamentals is sufficient; anything beyond this or different from this should be reserved for a small percentage—about one-third—of the children.

If further education is necessary as a means of selecting and training leaders, it is apparent that in England today the group of young people who are available for selection and training for leadership is very limited. It might, however, be quite adequate

for the national need if the numbers of those chosen to receive further education were inclusive enough to assure us that all those with the ability to become leaders had the opportunity for education. Is this true in England today? The question may be approached from either of two points of view. (1) Have all children who are eleven years of age and who have the ability to profit by it the opportunity of attending secondary schools or a specialized postprimary school? (2) Are leaders recruited equally from all types of secondary school?

7. Opportunity for Education Limited.—Even a superficial study reveals the startling lack of facilities for secondary education. Children are admitted to the secondary school largely by a competitive examination open to all who desire to take it and who are approved by the headmaster of the primary school. But, in the first place, many parents have no hope of being able to keep their child in school for five or six more years and hence do not wish their child to take the examination. In the second place, there is not room enough in the secondary schools for all who pass the examination. There are, to be sure, an increasing number of scholarships available which provide varying amounts dependent upon the financial ability of the parent, but even with this there still remains a large number, variously estimated from a third to a half of all children eligible, who cannot for one reason or another go on to secondary school. The largest number of these is, of course, in the group of poorer children financially, so that secondary education is largely reserved for the children of the well-to-do.

While this is without question the situation as it is today, educational authorities are by no means satisfied. They see clearly that the safety of the nation demands a wider selection and are bending every effort to provide further facilities both in the secondary schools and in other types of postprimary schools. The progress made in the past few years is very gratifying. Some idea of its extent may be obtained from Table VI.

Several points in this table should be noted. While the total population in the age group eleven to sixteen remained practically the same, the total number of children enrolled in elementary

and secondary schools increased by over 100,000. The increase in attendance at secondary schools was especially large, varying from nearly 79 per cent in the age group eleven to twelve to over 50 per cent in the age group fifteen to sixteen. The total percentage of increase in secondary attendance in ages eleven to sixteen was, roughly, 60 per cent. This is a remarkable record, especially during the period of depression. It indicates the settled policy of the authorities in charge of education and demonstrates their belief in equalization of educational opportunity. This achievement is shown still more strikingly in Table VII.

TABLE VI.—TEN YEARS' PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, ENGLAND AND WALES[1]

Ages	Estimated population		Elementary school		Secondary school		Percentage increase in secondary schools
	1924–1925	1934–1935	1924–1925	1934–1935	1924–1925	1934–1935	
11–12	716,742	656,000	638,045	584,461	28,617	51,031	78+
12–13	713,398	680,000	604,887	561,956	54,807	91,130	65+
13–14	703,172	727,000	581,416	600,495	63,156	101,034	60−
14–15	708,303	771,000	154,483	183,074	62,947	100,166	60−
15–16	720,787	739,000	10,093	20,940	55,450	83,815	50+
Total	3,562,402	3,573,000	1,988,924	1,950,926	264,977	427,176	60+

[1] Taken from Report of the Board of Education, 1936.

While the percentage of children five to thirteen years old in full-time attendance at school did not materially increase from 1913 to 1934, that of children fourteen to sixteen increased from 5.8 per cent in 1913 to 22.8 per cent in 1934; the increase even in the 5 years since 1929 has been from 16.8 per cent to 22.8 per cent. Or, to state it in another way, the number of children fourteen to sixteen in full-time attendance in 1913 was 120,000; in 1934, it was 426,000. Also worthy of note is the fact that the number of children seventeen and over in full-time attendance has nearly doubled since 1921 and has increased from 72,000 in 1926 to 102,000 in 1934. The increase in the secondary-school students

TABLE VII.—NUMBER OF FULL-TIME PUPILS ATTENDING GRANT-AIDED SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, SELECTED YEARS[1]

	1913	1922	1925	1928	1931	1934
1. Total population, 5–13, thousands	6,551	6,298	5,945	5,967	5,918	5,843
2. Number of children 5–13 in full-time attendance, thousands	5,798	5,726	5,400	5,466	5,456	5,495
3. Percentage of 2 on 1	88.5	90.9	90.8	91.6	92.2	94.0
4. Total population 14–16, thousands	2,049	2,185	2,162	2,118	1,956	1,870
5. Number of children 14–16 in full-time attendance, thousands	120	309	326	343	364	426
6. Percentage of 5 on 4	5.8	14.1	15.1	16.2	18.6	22.8
7. Number of children 17 and over in full-time attendance, thousands	Not available	73	71	75	93	102
Students in grant-aided secondary schools						
1. Number of full-time pupils	174,423	354,956	352,605	377,540	411,309	448,421
2. Number per 1,000 of population	4.8	9.4	9.3	9.6	10.3	11.1
3. Percentage of boys	53.3	51.0	52.1	52.8	52.8	53.1
4. Percentage of pupils aged 16	7.9	8.8	9.6	9.1	10.3	8.2
5. Percentage of pupils 17 and over	5.1	5.8	6.8	7.1	7.3	7.9
6. Percentage of ex-public elementary-school pupils	64.1	67.5	68.1	69.8	72.0	74.8
7. Percentage of non-fee-paying pupils	36.2	37.6	39.2	42.5	46.9	48.2
Full-time and part-time students in universities						
Number of students	No data	36,466	42,628	44,407	47,658	50,353

[1] Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, 1936, pp. 54, 55, 58, 59.

is shown in another way: the number of full-time students enrolled in secondary schools for 1,000 of the population was 4.8 in 1913, while in 1934 it was 11.1. The increase in the number attending universities is also very significant.

8. Schools Attended by Leaders.—Are leaders recruited equally from all types of secondary schools? Fortunately we have some significant data regarding a few types of leaders. The studies by Laski and Nightingale described on pages 72 to 77 are very revealing. During the period 1801–1924, 24 per cent of the members of the British Cabinet were Eton men, 11 per cent were from Harrow, and 17 per cent were from other Public Schools (and from the small group of especially distinguished Public Schools). In the period 1885–1905, two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet came from this comparatively small group of select schools. Of the men prominent in the Diplomatic Service and the Foreign Office during the period 1851–1929, over 70 per cent were from the Public Schools, and of this number Eton again furnished almost half. The proportion of the Foreign Office thus educated was even more marked than in the Diplomatic Service, being 75 per cent of the total number. Since many of those not educated in the Public Schools were educated privately or abroad, the figures mean that a very small proportion came from provided schools. In the case of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service, only 3 per cent came from schools other than the Public Schools; these would include private schools as well as provided schools. Also worthy of note is the dominating position of Oxford and Cambridge among the colleges and universities contributing to the Cabinet and to the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service. The data of trends show the gradual increase in the number in these services that come from provided schools, but the change is very slow.

A similar situation exists regarding leaders in many other aspects of English life. R. H. Tawney presents some very significant data regarding the schools attended by certain types of leader.[1]

[1] Tawney, R. H., *Equality*, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1931, pp. 302, 303. Used by special permission of the publisher.

Over three-fourths of all the leaders listed received their early training in the English Public Schools. The percentage varied from 93 in the case of bishops to 64 for the governors of Dominions; a pitiably small percentage, 11.6, came from private and provided schools.

TABLE VIII.—SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY CERTAIN MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT PROFESSIONS[1]

Professions[2]	No. for whom information is available	English Public Schools[3]						English schools other than Public Schools		Welsh, Scottish, and Irish schools		Privately or abroad	
		One of 14 principal Public Schools		Others		Total							
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Bishops (68)	56	38	68	14	25	52	93	4	7				
2. Deans (30)	24	13	54	6	26	19	80	4	16	..	..	1	4
3. Lords of Appeal, justices of Court of Appeal and High Court (39)	25	11	44	6	24	17	68	1	4	5	20	2	8
4. County court judges, recorders, metropolitan magistrates, stipendiary magistrates (215).	156	75	48	47	30	122	78	20	13	5	3	9	6
5. Home civil servants [members of 20 departments receiving £1,000 a year and upward (455)]	210	70	33	82	37	152	72	29	14	15	7	14	7
6. Members of Indian Civil Service [English names only (105)]	41	17	41	16	39	33	81	1	2	5	12	2	5
7. Governors of Dominions (65)	47	21	45	9	19	30	64	14	30	..	..	3	6
8. Directors of 5 banks (165)	82	53	64	9	13	62	75	5	6	7	9	8	10
9. Directors of 4 railway companies (91)	50	32	64	5	10	37	74	2	4	7	14	4	8
Total	691	330	47	194	29	524	76	80	12	44	6	43	6

[1] The figures are compiled from Whitaker's Almanack for 1927 (for 1926 as regards governors of Dominions), the *Stock Exchange Year Book* for 1927 (for directors of banks and railways), and Who's Who. Adapted from R. H. Tawney, *Equality*, pp. 302, 303.

[2] The figures added in brackets in this column indicate the total number in each category.

[3] That is, the 135 English schools represented at the Headmasters' Conference.

From the three studies described, it would be fair to say that in England the very best combination for assuring leadership is Eton + Oxford. When we add aristocratic parentage, it is far more effective; and if we add to this ability, the combination—ability + aristocratic parentage + Eton + Oxford—is irresistible!

No comprehensive study has yet been made of the education of leaders in trade and commerce, in science, in medicine, in literature, in art, in music, and the like. However, even a brief survey of these fields will reveal much the same condition. Here, English tradition does not make it so essential that leaders be chosen from the aristocracy, and undoubtedly it is easier for a boy from provided schools to make his way in these fields than in governmental service. Nevertheless, the same prestige is attached to the Public School, to Eton, and to Oxford. It is, indeed, not unusual for a man or a woman to go to Oxford or Cambridge deliberately *in order to make sure of recognition and promotion.* Leadership in art and music may, quite possibly, prove to be an exception to these rules, for the Public Schools do not generally, at least until recently, consider these subjects necessary or desirable.

It has already been shown not only that the overwhelming majority of leaders come from a small group of schools, but that the proportion of young people enrolled in all types of secondary school is very small; only about one in nine are educated in the schools from which those leaders come. It may be urged that this provides reasonably well for the youth who wish to attend secondary schools and who have the ability to profit by such training. Not a few apparently well-informed Englishmen have repeatedly made such a statement. It must be apparent to anyone who studies the data presented by the Board of Education that this is not the case. Data given in the *Year Book of Education* for 1936[1] show that approximately 1,486,000 young people of twelve to seventeen years of age remained in elementary school during the year 1933–1934. Of these, 15 per cent attended for full time. It is not possible to make any accurate estimate of the number of young people who have the ability to profit by the

[1] *The Year Book of Education*, 1936, London: Evans Brothers, Ltd., p. 884.

work of the secondary school, but who, for one reason or another, cannot or do not attend. A number of well-informed schoolmen are of the opinion that only from one-half to two-thirds of those who have the requisite ability are now attending secondary school. In at least some of the central schools, the average I.Q. of the students is from 115 to 120, a rating that compares fairly well with that of students in secondary schools. Fully a quarter of those in some central schools have intelligence quotients above 130. Several reasons may be given for the lack of attendance in secondary schools of these high-ability pupils.

1. The fees charged make it impossible for many to attend. Data for the year 1934–1935 are given in Table IX.

TABLE IX.—TUITION FEES CHARGED, SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1935[1]

Standard rate per annum of tuition fees for pupils 12 years of age, in guineas	Council schools	Roman Catholic schools	Foundation and other schools	Welsh intermediate schools	Total England and Wales
1. Over 4 but not over 6..	54	3	2	29	88
2. Over 6 but not over 9..	165	25	48	66	304
3. Over 9 but not over 12.	340	36	141	6	523
4. Over 12 but not over 15	142	17	93	...	252
5. Over 15 but not over 20	46	6	64	1	117
6. Over 20 but not over 25	3	..	48	...	51
7. Over 25 but not over 30	2	..	39	...	41
8. Over 30.....	...	..	4	...	4
Total	752	87	439	102	1,380

[1] Report of the Board of Education for 1936, London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1936, p. 152.

The median fee was between nine and twelve guineas, and one-third of all the schools charged more than twelve guineas. Most of the schools also require the pupils to purchase their own books. This fee, while by no means excessive, nevertheless is prohibitive as far as many parents are concerned.

2. The number of scholarships (special places and free places) giving partial or full exemption from fees, and sometimes part

maintenance as well, is comparatively small. In the year 1934–1935, the number of special-place awards in England alone was 45,089. Of these 34,559, or 76.7 per cent, were totally exempted. These figures do not show the number of scholarships and free places available, but they do indicate that, generous as the number is in comparison with past conditions, it is still very small.

3. A further reason may be found in the feeling of the poorer classes, still fairly general, that a secondary-school education is not for their children. This type of education has for so long been considered the privilege of the wellborn, the well-to-do, the proprietary class that the idea of secondary education for all is only slowly making headway.

4. A final reason is that headmasters of secondary schools feel that the secondary school should be reserved for those who already have a cultural background that gives promise of adaptability to the secondary school as it now exists.

The conclusions that may be drawn from the facts presented are as follows:

1. Leaders in practically all lines are drawn overwhelmingly from the secondary schools and the universities.

2. The great majority of these leaders come from a small group of Public Schools and from Oxford and Cambridge.

3. The students in these institutions come in large measure from the upper classes: the hereditary aristocracy, the landed proprietors, the wealthy, and the professions.

4. This group represents only a small proportion of those with ability.

5. The facilities offered for secondary education are entirely inadequate to provide for those who have the ability to profit by them.

6. Much progress has been made in the removal of artificial restrictions to entrance both to secondary schools and to all types of professions, but it still remains true that environmental factors—birth, wealth, position—weigh heavily against the poor, the propertyless, the lowborn.

9. The Life of the School.—Since such a large proportion of leaders come from the secondary schools and especially from the

small group of Public Schools, it will be interesting to see what is being done in these schools to prepare their pupils for the positions of leadership that they will inevitably occupy in later life. Here we are at once confronted with the great diversity in practice already referred to. No two schools are alike; each has its own individuality stamped upon it either by centuries of tradition or by its headmasters or by both. In spite of this rather delightful and refreshing individuality and the consequent baffling diversity it may still be possible to point out certain fairly constant conditions and quite general characteristics.

a. The Boarding School.—The first type of school to be considered will be the boarding school. By the nature of the case, the boarding school offers much larger possibilities for organized school life than the day school. All the Public Schools that so largely monopolize the leadership output are boarding schools. Other schools, boarding and day schools, provided and non-provided schools, look to them as models and, as far as may be, try to pattern their life and activities more or less after these schools. One of the outstanding characteristics of the life of the Public Schools is the very intimate relationship between teacher and pupil, especially the relationship between the housemaster and the pupils in his house.

(1) *The School Organization.*—The schools themselves, seldom large, are always divided into houses containing from twenty-five to forty or fifty boys. The boys are members of the same house for their entire school life—five or six years. There is comparatively little turnover among the housemasters, most of them remaining in the same school, master of the same house, for many years. The housemaster lives with his boys; he sees them at all hours of the day and night, in all situations, in class, on the playing fields, at meals, and while they are studying. Long before the boy has completed his course, the housemaster has the most intimate knowledge of his characteristics, his abilities, and his weaknesses. He knows him far better than do the boy's own parents. He confers with him frequently; he has many heart-to-heart talks with him in the quiet of his study or in the boy's own room. Consequently his influence upon the maturing boy

can hardly be overestimated. The housemaster also keeps in touch with the parents and is in a position to interpret the boy to the parent and the parent to the boy. There is no closer relationship anywhere in education than this intimate contact between the housemaster and his boys. Of course, not all housemasters have the peculiar qualities and characteristics that make their influence the most wholesome, but they are usually chosen very carefully. They are, without doubt, the most important influence in the school. In most schools, since the number enrolled is small, the headmaster supplements in a very effective way the work of the housemaster. He makes it his business to know each boy intimately and exercises a large influence upon his school life and his future life.

Since the boy is under school control for the entire day and for most of the year, his entire life is organized and supervised—his classwork, his study time, his playtime, his mealtime, his leisure time, when he has any. There is much less freedom in the life of the schoolboy in the English boarding school than is the case even with the student in the American boarding school.

It is a tradition among English schools that within the school there shall be complete democracy. Whatever be the social or economic condition of the parent, after the boy once enters the school he is on an equal footing with every other boy. No favors are shown or expected; each boy stands on his own feet. A boy may have a schoolmate whom he would not think of inviting to his home—the difference in social position would not permit that—but, as far as the school life is concerned, the two are equal. Very few of these schools make any provision for poor boys to earn part of their way by work around the school. Duties are often assigned, but these have no relationship to the social or economic standing of the boys' parents. In this respect, also, all are on the same level.

In most schools the standard of scholarship is rigorously maintained, not so much, it may be, by the daily work of the school as by the ever-present awareness of the examination which lies always ahead. These examinations, while they contribute materially to the maintenance of the standards, too often narrow

the instruction because of the great importance placed upon their successful completion. As in American preparatory schools and in some of the public high schools as well, much time is usually given to careful drill on material in old examination papers and often on direct answers to specific questions in these old examinations. English schools have, however, much greater opportunity to vary the method of attack and the organization of subject matter than do the American high schools. The smallness of the classes and the more intimate contact of teacher with pupil make possible the discovery of exceptional ability and the directing of its development. Especially in the upper sixth form, great latitude is given the individual student. He must, of course, be prepared to take the Higher Certificate Examination, but he often spends much time upon the special line of work in which he is interested.

Most of the schools emphasize sports much more than any other form of student activities. There are school teams in many sports and house teams of many different kinds and for boys of different sizes and degrees of skill. In some schools, it is still necessary for each boy to go out for some house sport five days of the week. Many schools, however, are getting away from the "tyranny of sport," as it is called, and allowing boys much greater freedom to engage in the activity that they like most—art, woodworking, music, writing, etc. Sports are required for only two days a week. Aside from sports, there are comparatively few student activities. Some schools have debating clubs; some have school papers; and, some few, dramatic clubs and science clubs. Much is made of Boy Scout and similar organizations in the life of the school. Nearly every Public School has its Officers' Training Corps, which is not considered military training, but an aid to character formation and a help in discipline. Compared with the American high school, the student activities are few in number and unimportant. They are also much more largely controlled by the teaching staff than in American schools.

As has already been indicated, athletics, sports of various kinds, occupy a large place in the life of the English schools. Not that there are more English than American students who

are interested in sports, but *all English students take part in them*, and sports are relied upon in large measure for the development of those ideals that are considered desirable. One of the differences in the spirit of sports in English and in American schools can well be shown in the words of an American exchange student who recently attended an English boarding school:

Americans are said to make a business of their games. Our football players do, to say the least, go through rigorous training and practice in the attempt to win their games. The more religious deny themselves their choicest sweets, they push about heavy platforms on rollers to prepare themselves for the scrimmage and charge dummies to improve their tackling. In England, on the other hand, two or three days a week of organized practice are considered sufficient. The game of Rugger itself in my own mind compares favourably with our football, because the former can be played and enjoyed without the practice and learning of complicated strategy necessary in American football. At my school in the United States the success of the whole season depends on the annual game with our chief rival. On the night before the fatal day the whole school meets to cheer the team, to hear the coaches and the captain ask for the support of the student body, and to hear old boys speak of the glory of days gone by. The game itself is a veritable pageant. Banners and flags wave. The crowd encourages the players with concerted yells led by cheer leaders with batons and megaphones. If there is a victory, the winners become even more excited than ever. In the evening the members of the team, in a wagon drawn by two horses, are followed by the rest of the school with bright torches, singing and snake dancing through the streets of the town to a bonfire, where there are more speeches and more cheers. Everyone enjoys himself immensely and has a grand time. The attitude of the Englishman and American actually taking part in the matches is essentially different. The Englishman enjoys himself by playing the game, while the American thinks he enjoys himself by striving to be good. As a result of this desire to be good most schoolboys tend to specialize in one game each term rather than generalize in several as is the case in England. After two terms I have been completely converted to the English point of view.[1]

[1] English and American Schools. The Daily Round Compared, *The Landmark*, **18**: 279–280, May, 1936. Used by special permission of the publisher.

What has been said by no means does justice to the efforts of the English boarding school in the training of its students. There is about these schools an intangible something that is relied upon more than anything else for the development of those qualities which are considered desirable. This intangible element may, perhaps, best be described as tradition, for tradition is a most important factor in all English life. It is difficult to name the qualities that are considered desirable. They have been both admired and condemned. At their best, they are chivalry, honor, courage, tolerance, sportsmanship, trustworthiness, honesty, a sense of duty, and responsibility. They are the marks of a *gentleman* and dominate and explain in large measure the conduct of the leaders of the nation. This characteristic remark is attributed to Chesterton: "The positive purpose of aristocratic educationists is to turn out gentlemen, and they do turn out gentelmen, even when they expel them."

On the other hand, the characteristics of the products of the Public Schools that are most frequently criticized are a certain uniformity of character, an emphasis upon conformity, a conservatism that is opposed to the development of individuality, a class consciousness, a snobbishness that is inbred or fixed by the school. It is quite impossible for an outsider properly to appraise the Public Schools in the light of their development of efficient leadership. Some go so far as to say that the leaders they develop are gentlemen and sportsmen who refuse to do anything that is "not cricket," but that they are likely to be conservative in outlook and stupid in action.

It seems clear that there is little attempt in most of these schools to put the students in touch with current problems in a vital way and to make sure that they see all sides of a question. There are notable exceptions to this rule, it is true, but conservatism still remains the dominant note in English secondary education. This is probably not due to any conscious effort to keep these questions out, but rather to the compelling purpose of the school to furnish a cultural training, which is interpreted in large measure to mean a linguistic and mathematical training. Furthermore, when present-day problems are discussed, it is not easy

to get at first hand the ideas and point of view of the "other man," the working classes, for there are usually no representatives of these classes present in the school.

Religion has a place in the English secondary school that is not possible in America. Each boarding school has its chapel. This is also true of many day schools. Definite religious instruction of a very broad and liberal nature is an integral part of the life of the school, even of the provided schools. Catholics and Jews are excused from attendance at these classes, and no objection is heard regarding the inclusion of religious teaching.

Discipline is much more severe than in most American schools. "Caning," or "beating," while uncommon, is by no means taboo and is not considered degrading even by the students. This punishment is administered not only for bad conduct but for poor work, for laziness. On the whole, however, the idea of obeying the rules or of living according to what is expected is a custom that runs through the life of the school: it is in the air, it is a part of the tradition of the school, and this tradition is a force to be reckoned with at all times. It is "cricket" to obey the orders of masters and of prefects, and they usually are obeyed. On the whole, the life of the school is wholesome, and the discipline healthy. For the most part, discipline is taken care of in the houses themselves.

The testimony of exchange teachers and students is that life is much more narrowly prescribed in the English schools than in American schools, and that the relationship between pupil and teacher, while very close, is usually more like that of the master and his ward—less free and less on a basis of equality in English schools than in American schools. The English master is always treated with respect; his position as teacher compels it; he is always the master. The American teacher is often treated as an equal; whatever respect he receives is due to him as a man rather than to his position as a teacher. Not infrequently he is regarded as a copartner in a common enterprise. This is seldom the case in the English school.

(2) *The House and Prefect System.*—Possibly the most common characteristic of the boarding school is the house and prefect system. While practices vary greatly in different schools, the

fundamental similarities are marked. Every school, large or small, is divided into houses. Each house usually contains not more than fifty pupils. Some schools organize their houses on a horizontal basis, by forms. The great majority favor the vertical plan, in which each house represents a cross section of the school. This plan makes for continuity, for only a small number of new pupils come into a house each year. Each house has its own traditions and not infrequently its own body of "Old Boys," who exercise great influence—sometimes too great—upon the life of the school. In many cases, grandfather, father, and son have all belonged to the same house. Sometimes a boy will prefer even to go to another school rather than enter a house that is different from that of his father. The boys of the same "house" live together in separate houses and often have their own dining halls. Each house has a student head or captain or head prefect and several subordinate prefects. These are chosen in most schools from the two upper forms, often from the sixth form alone. When chosen, they retain their position for the remainder of their school life unless removed by the headmaster for cause.

In the boys' schools, the prefects are almost invariably chosen by the headmaster or the housemaster or by both; they are seldom elected by the students. In girls' schools, it is much more common to have them elected by the whole or a part of the student body. This difference in practice is largely traditional, but it reveals a marked difference in the points of view of the headmaster and the headmistress. The headmasters express themselves as having little confidence in the ability of students to choose their leaders wisely; they look upon the prefect system as a means of securing a smoothly running school, as a relief to the staff from some of the drudgery of details, and also, of course, as a method of training a few carefully selected boys for positions of later leadership. The headmistress often has much more confidence in the ability of students to select wisely and looks upon the election as a means of training the girls in the selection of their leaders.

There is also in most cases a school head or captain, nearly always chosen by the headmaster from among the house prefects, usually from the house captains.

The Perfect System may be defined as an executive and labour-saving device by which the leading boys or girls are called upon to act as voluntary co-trustees and co-workers with the head master and staff for the promotion and maintenance of the discipline and moral welfare of the school.[1]

Wilson gives us an idea of the purpose and value of this system.

I have heard a public school defined as "a place where the boys educate one another, while a certain number of scholars, more or less distinguished, called masters, look on." This exaggeration has its kernel of truth. In the good boarding school, the authority of the house captains, dormitory captains and games captains is real. . . . The new boy is a creature with no privileges and few rights, but little by little he is given his responsibilities, and they are never artificial; if he does well, he gets more. The merit of the system is that the boy has always to be thinking for others and some of the positions to which he may rise, such as captain of a game in a big school or the head of a house, call for a good deal of organizing ability and the power to make and stick to decisions that are not easy.[2]

The duties of the prefects also vary greatly with different schools; in some, only trivial duties are assigned, while in others the prefects have large responsibilities, which include even the power of flogging boys for misconduct. One of the purposes of the system is expressed as follows:[3]

It is, so far as the staff is concerned, a drudgery-saving piece of machinery; it represents the eyes and ears of the school and also its moral standard so far as the prefects can realise it; it deals with the conduct of all scholars either on the school premises or in the neighbourhood of them; it performs multifarious functions, particularly at vulnerable points; and it becomes more and more efficient as the traditional spirit enters into its life, for it then crystallises the willing sanction of the pupils to the school's tone and disciplinary régime.

[1] Blair, R., *The Prefect System in Elementary Schools*, London: London County Council, *Development Memorandum* 9, 1924, p. 2.

[2] Wilson, J. Dover, *The Schools of England*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1928, p. 124. Used by special permission of the publisher.

[3] Blair, R., *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Among the duties delegated to the prefects are the following: taking charge of cloakrooms, lavatories, staircases, halls; care of latecomers; supervision and conduct of sports; clerical duties of various sorts; temporary management of classroom; acting as messengers for headmaster and housemasters. The prefects have the general and specific responsibility for maintaining the spirit and the discipline of the school. There can be no question that, at their best, they exercise a very important function in the school.

Much has been written of the system of "fagging," and much criticism has in the past been directed against the Public Schools because of this practice. There can be no doubt that the criticism was just, and it has resulted in the almost entire abolition of the system as it was once practiced. A modified "fagging" system is, however, still in use. In this, the new boy is required to attend upon the older boys, to run errands, to show respect in prescribed ways, and, in general, to wait upon the older boys. Sometimes the school captain and the house captain have new boys delegated to them as "servants." On the whole, the duties required are by no means onerous or degrading. The general opinion seems to be that it helps "break in" the new boy and to assist him in imbibing more quickly the spirit of the school. The prefects are often organized into a council or court, which meets to consider matters of special importance and to impress upon unruly boys the necessity of improving their conduct. In function, this system is not unlike the various forms of student "self-government" in American schools, but the English prefect seldom has as much responsibility or as much freedom as the corresponding officer in our school organization.

Since tradition plays such a prominent part in English Public Schools, it is only natural that the prefects should be chosen partly from the standpoint of their possession of the traditional spirit of the school. It is also only in proportion to his possession of this traditional spirit that the prefect is entrusted with larger responsibilities. Consequently, in some schools the prefect system becomes merely an instrument in the hands of the headmaster, who molds the school to his ideas: the prefects are puppets; he pulls the string.

b. Day Schools.—Boarding schools obviously have much greater opportunity for the development of school life than have day schools. Day schools cannot control the entire life of the pupil; they usually have little supervision over the preparation of the schoolwork. Nevertheless, in practically all cases, day schools in England are organized after the pattern of the boarding schools. Nearly all are divided into houses, the usual number being, for some reason, four. When the school is coeducational, the boys and girls are organized in separate houses. Each house is usually a cross section of the school and has a lower and an upper division; each has its housemaster. We find the same variation here in the methods of selecting house prefects and the school captain as in the boarding schools. The duties of the prefects in the day schools are usually not so important as in the boarding schools; but the headmasters in the day schools, as do those in the boarding schools, rely in large measure upon the prefects to develop and maintain the school spirit and to control the school life. Prefects are a real factor in discipline, and, while their authority is limited, they can usually take care of the unruly pupil. One cannot help feeling, however, that the system of the day schools is a mere copying of that in the Public Schools and is not well adapted to their needs. The house and prefect system is characteristic not only of the day secondary schools but of nearly all postprimary schools.

c. The House and Team System of the Primary School.—The same system is carried over into the primary schools. Here it is usually called the house and team system. There is great variation from school to school in the details of organization, but the description here given may be taken as fairly representing the general plan in operation. The best account of the house and team system is found in the pamphlet issued by the Association for Mutual Service in Schools entitled *Mutual Service Methods*,[1] from which frequent quotations will be made.

Each school is divided by the head teacher into a certain number of houses, the number being dependent upon the size of the school. These are vertical divisions of the school. Each

[1] *Mutual Service Methods*, Dorchester: Henry Ling, Ltd.

class is divided into house teams as nearly equal in size and ability as possible. The plan may be more clearly understood by studying the illustration.

PRIMARY SCHOOL OF 120 PUPILS

Class	Houses				
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	Total
I	11	11	12	11	45
II	8	9	8	9	34
III	11	10	10	10	41
Total	30	30	30	30	120

In this primary school of 120 pupils, there are four houses *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*. There are three classes I, II, III, of 45, 34, and 41 pupils, respectively. Each class has four house teams. Each house has 30 pupils, one team to a class. Thus, house *A* would consist of three teams of 11, 8, and 11 pupils, each representing a class. The head teacher selects a team leader for each house team in each class. One of the team leaders is selected as a class leader. The team leaders of the top class are the house leaders. From the house leaders, the head teacher selects one to be the school leader. Houses choose their names and mottoes. Each team leader prepares a rough "team-mark book." In this, he enters daily the marks given or taken from the members of the team by the teachers of the class. The house leaders also prepare "house-mark books." On Fridays, at 11:45 A.M., each house leader enters in the book the total marks that the team leaders of his house team reported. The house-mark books are given to the head teacher, who determines the percentages.

At the commencement of each week, the leader of the house whose percentage is best reports to the head teacher, and the house is honored as follows:

1. It is cheered by the rest of the school.
2. Its leader marks up a "place" on the Inter House Competition Ladder.

3. Its shield is hung in a place of honour by the head teacher.

The flags of all houses are hoisted on the flag staff in the playground, in order from the top, according to the positions of the houses in the Inter House Competitions.

Marks are given for conduct, work, and games; as has been indicated there is a school-marks ladder on which is indicated from week to week the place of each house.

A "Place" is won by the house which gains the highest total of marks for conduct, work, and games during the week. "Places" are also allotted by the head teacher for successes in examinations, matches, sports, shows of arts and crafts, etc. The house which at the end of the term (or half-term) is highest in the Inter House Competition is called the "Top House," and its teams are called "Top Teams" during the similar period. The Top House holds a trophy.

The aims of the scheme are:

By explanation and practice:

1. To associate the idea of pleasure with work; of nobility, duty and success with service.

2. To teach future leaders to lead:

By service, justice and encouragement.

By being the friends of all members of their teams.

By constant efforts to make their teams happy, efficient, and successful and to "keep their tails up."

By taking responsibilities, and by giving responsibilities to Junior Leaders.

3. To make it "the thing" for boys and girls to do their best in conduct, work, and games, and to be always on the lookout for opportunities of helping others.

4. To help boys and girls become men and women whom others like to be with, to serve or to employ.

Normally each pupil remains in the same house throughout the primary school and often into the senior school. This scheme is a very efficient instrument in the hands of the head teacher for promoting emulation and securing excellent work.

In all the postprimary schools, the prefect system together with the sports program is relied upon very largely for the selection

and training of leaders. It is not unlike the home-room system seen in many of the American junior and senior high schools.

V. Conclusion

England is a democracy founded upon a society that historically was divided into classes on a hereditary, social, and economic basis. In this society, leaders are chosen largely from the aristocratic class, to which the entire nation looks as the prime source of its leaders, the group upon whom rests the duty of leadership. In this class are embodied those ideals that are most characteristically British and that, therefore, should guide the destiny of the nation. The fundamental democratic ideals inherent in the English people are gradually working out a different order, in which equality of opportunity for all is the dominant note. Legal equality, which has for so long been one of England's outstanding achievements, is resulting logically in equality of opportunity and a wider selection of leaders. There still remains, however, much inequality in social and economic life and in education, and a very much restricted field for the selection of leaders. The feeling is present, conscious or unconscious, that the best and safest leaders come from the "best" families; that is, tradition and culture are still regarded as factors of paramount importance.

The avenues through which leaders are selected and trained are, for the most part, unorganized and haphazard. The *laissez-faire* idea still prevails. A notable beginning in providing definite, impartial, and effective avenues for selection has been made in the civil-service system. This is rapidly being strengthened and enlarged to include many different lines of service and has resisted every attempt of politicians to limit its activities.

The schools reflect both the old aristocratic ideals and the newer democratic principles. The dominance of Oxford and Cambridge and the great Public Schools, especially Eton and Harrow, is very marked, and, although provided schools greatly outnumber the Public, and in spite of the fact that the pupils in the latter represent only a small proportion of the total number of secondary students, yet the ideals of these schools, their standards

of attainment, and their organization still exercise the greatest influence. The great majority of the nation's leaders still come from the ranks of the Public Schools. This is not so much because they give superior training to their pupils—it may even be true that that given in a number of other institutions is superior; it is primarily because the pupils are selected from that class to which the nation looks for its leaders. It may well be true that, if they did not go to any Public School, these boys would still be leaders. However, it has been for so long the custom of the aristocracy to send their children to these schools that those in search of leaders regard them as the places where the best training is given.

The prevailing idea in secondary schools of all kinds is that their function is distinctly nonvocational and cultural, cultural conceived of as based upon the classics, modern languages, English, and mathematics. Leaders in business and commerce as well as leaders in scholarship and in public service should first receive a well-grounded cultural training and then preparation for their lifework. Boys and girls are selected for the different types of postprimary school largely by competitive examination. Those standing highest in these examinations have the privilege of attending the culturally planned secondary school, if there is room; those of less ability who do not seem suited to this sort of training go to other forms of postprimary school. Even when schools have different divisions or "sides," such as the classical, modern-language, scientific, and technical, it is still true that the best pupils, on the whole, choose the classical side; the groups in the scientific and technical sides are inferior as groups.

In the life of the school are seen very definite attempts not only to develop those ideals, characteristic of the English gentleman that are considered basic for personal life and public service but to give definite training to a few selected students for positions of leadership later. The system of prefects and the plans of self-government, as well as the organization of sports, are considered to be of very great importance in the development of personal and public ideals and in the leadership-training program. Definite and large responsibilities are placed upon certain senior

or top-form pupils. In many cases, these extend to matters of discipline. That these responsibilities are considered very valuable training for future leadership is evidenced by the fact that school captains as well as house captains are sought after by men in need of outstanding boys. No definite follow-up study has been made to find the actual result—whether the boys thus chosen are really better and more successful than those without such training. Headmasters are strongly of the opinion that the training does carry over and show in later life. It may well be true that headmasters, being interested parties, are not the best judges of the effectiveness of the program they themselves have initiated and developed. It would seem, however, that some weight should be given to their opinion.

The system has some defects which may be noted: (1) Prefects and captains are sometimes chosen because of scholastic standing rather than leadership ability. In any case, they must be much above the average in scholastic ability to be able to get into the sixth form. (2) An effort is usually made to select boys who have already shown ability rather than to select those who need to develop it. (3) The captains are chosen from the sixth form and, though appointed for the remainder of their school life, have only a fairly short time in which to receive this sort of training. The number who can receive this training is very narrowly limited by the fact that only the sixth formers are eligible for captains. Students low in scholastic ability are not chosen, in spite of the fact that leadership ability is by no means confined to those who have attained high scholastic standards. Since so few boys can ever attain to these positions in school, it seems rather strange that the schools should put forward the claim that they are places where all boys who attend may receive leadership training! (4) Prefects in boys' schools are usually chosen by the housemasters or the headmaster. This method gives the boys no training in choosing their own leaders. (5) One important basis for choice is the presence in marked degree of those qualities and characteristics that are traditionally approved by the school. This makes for uniformity and continuity but is likely to limit individuality and progress. If it has any effect, it must be to

produce leaders who will follow tradition, who will "play the game" *as it always has been played*, who will be conservative. (6) In the day schools, the plan adopted does not seem to be worked out so well or so effectively as in many of the better American high schools.

The program of sports or athletics is in many respects on a much saner and more healthful basis than that in American schools. The emphasis is upon playing the game rather than upon winning, upon courtesy and friendliness rather than extreme rivalry. The overemphasis, such as there is, is in the amount of time devoted to participating in sports and not on developing a winning school team. There is a much less professional and professionalizing spirit in the athletics of the English secondary school than in those of the American schools. On the other hand, athletics are not well organized from the standpoint of health and building up physique and the correction of physical defects. That sports contribute to health and physical fitness in the majority of cases there can be no doubt, but in English secondary schools this benefit is not the result of definite planning.

The methods employed for the selection and training of leaders in the English schools, and especially in the Public Schools, are the result of long years of development. They are considered to be very effective in the choice and development of the type of leader that has been desired. Whether they will be equally effective when applied to day schools and especially to the provided schools, in which are found the children not of the aristocracy but of the working classes, remains to be seen. Even conceding their effectiveness in the English system, the methods employed could not well be used to any considerable extent in the American high school.

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CHAPTER VII

SOVIET SCHOOLS

I. The Characteristics of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

1. The Unique Character of the Soviet Union.—In beginning this brief discussion of leadership activities in Russia, it is well to have in mind certain fundamental characteristics of the country, especially as contrasted with those of England and the United States.

First, and perhaps most important, the Soviet Union, more than any other country, unifies and coordinates all forms of activity—economic, industrial, political, educational. These activities are not merely clearly related; they are integral parts of one whole. It is impossible to separate one aspect or agency from another for individual study and analysis. The various agencies in the Soviet Union did not, as in most other countries, grow up more or less separate and distinct from one another, and often somewhat antagonistic, but were forged out at the same time, each an organic part of the whole, each interacting upon the other, and each contributing in its own peculiar way to the development of the rest and of the whole.

2. The Organization of the U.S.S.R.—It would manifestly be impossible in this short discussion to describe in any detail the organization of Soviet Russia, nor will it be necessary for our purpose.[1] Only such points will be given as may serve as a background for the discussion on leadership. The statements that follow are based mainly upon the provisions of the New Constitution adopted in November, 1936, and are either direct

[1] Readers are referred to the references at the close of the chapter and especially to the very comprehensive treatment in *Soviet Communism*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

quotations from the articles of that constitution or combinations or paraphrases of them.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants; it is a federal state formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Socialist Republics with equal rights for each. At present, there are eleven of these republics, most of which are subdivided into provinces or other divisions. Comprised in this union are over 170,000,000 people of over 150 diverse nationalities, speaking as many different languages. Its area is as large as that of the entire British Empire. The government is entirely representative. The governing bodies are assemblies of various kinds: village and town soviets, councils of provinces and republics, and the superior council of the Union. Representatives or deputies to these governing bodies are elected on the basis of universal, equal, direct suffrage and by secret ballot by all citizens and are subject to recall. "All citizens of the U.S.S.R. who in the year of the elections reach the age of eighteen have the right to participate in election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the mentally deficient and persons deprived of electoral rights by the courts." "Every citizen has the right to elect and be elected irrespective of his race or nationality, his religion, educational qualifications, residential qualifications, his social origin, property status or past activity."

The provisions, it should be noted, do away with the restrictions in the Constitution of 1924, either because certain classes to whom such privileges had formerly been denied: (1) those who employed others for profit, (2) private businessmen, etc., had been eliminated or because other classes: (1) monks and priests, (2) agents and employees of the former police, etc., were so insignificant as to be powerless.

"The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. consists in the socialist system of economy, and socialist ownership of the implements and means of production." "Work in the U.S.S.R. is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle: 'He who does not work shall not eat.' In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is being realized: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" "All

citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work—the right to receive guaranteed work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality." All citizens have the right to rest guaranteed by the seven-hour day, the right to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work. All have the right to an education suited to their needs and abilities. Women are accorded exactly equal rights with men in all respects. "The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an irrevocable law." "To ensure to citizens freedom of conscience the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom to perform religious rites and freedom of antireligious propaganda is recognized for all citizens. . . . " "In accordance with the interests of the toiler, for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed (*a*) freedom of speech, (*b*) freedom of the press, (*c*) freedom of assembly and meetings, (*d*) freedom of street processions and demonstrations." "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the inviolability of the person. No one may be subjected to arrest except upon the decision of a court or with the sanction of the State Attorney. . . . " "The inviolability of the homes of citizens and the secrecy of correspondence are protected by law."

There may be some doubt regarding the extent in practice of some of the rights guaranteed in the constitution, such as freedom of speech and of the press, but competent observers testify that many of the rights and privileges as set forth in the various articles are now in actual operation.

3. The Communist Party.—No account of the organization of the U.S.S.R. can fail to consider the overwhelming influence of the Communist party. It is not a part of the legal organization of government and, in fact, is mentioned only once in the constitution; it is distinctly outside the constitution. Neither the Party nor its supreme body can, of itself, add to or alter the laws; it can only issue "directions" to its own members. But it is safe to say that no important legislation is enacted until it has

first been considered and approved in the Party councils. In a striking way, Webb describes some features of its influence under the heading "The Vocation of Leadership."[1]

All the diversity of participation in the universal multiformity of organisation which distinguishes the USSR from every other country makes more than usually indispensable that leadership without which democracy, in any of its forms, is but a mob. It is on this point that the actual constitution of the Soviet Union, which is not completely written in any statute, differs most substantially from every other known to political science. In the USSR the function of affording to the population the necessary guidance of public affairs is assumed by a voluntary but highly organised and strictly disciplined Vocation of Leadership, which calls itself the Communist Party. It is, as we have explained, unlike anything that the western world understands by the term "party" in the political sense. Far from seeking to enrol everyone professing agreement with its policy or "voting its ticket" or subscribing to its funds, the Communist Party of the USSR has a strictly limited membership, amounting to less than 3 per cent of the electorate, or less than 2 per cent of the census population, recruited exclusively by cooptation, after prolonged probation, on qualifications of character, ability and zeal coupled with ungrudging acceptance of the existing regime. We need not repeat our description of the way in which this peculiar companionship is organised on the common pattern of indirect election; nor yet that of the higher standard of personal conduct than is expected from the ordinary citizen to which its members are held. Perhaps its most significant difference from the political parties of western politics may be found in the manner in which it maintains this standard by incessant systematic public examination of the entire vocation, and the drastic "purging" out of all backsliders and offenders, even to the extent of a fifth of the membership at a time. With its voluntarily assumed special obligations of "poverty" (limitation of salary by a common maximum) and "obedience" (willingness to undertake any service imposed by its own corporate authority), as well as in its enforcement of discipline only by the penalties of reprimand and expulsion, the Communist Party of the USSR may be thought to resemble in structure the typical religious order of the Roman Catholic or the Greek Orthodox

[1] Webb, Sidney, and Beatrice Webb, Is Soviet Communism a New Civilization? *Left Review Pamphlet.* London: The Left Review, pp. 15–18, November, 1936. Used with the special permission of the publisher.

Church. But unlike the monastic orders, the Communist Party employs its members exclusively in the secular occupations of citizenship; more than half of them continuing their work at the bench or in the mine, and some 40 per cent filling the administrative or other offices to which they get elected or appointed. There is, however, a spiritual difference. It is an absolute condition of membership that the candidates must be free from any vestige of belief in supernaturalism, and that they must continue to adhere to "Marxism," as from time to time authoritatively determined. Since the offering of guidance in public affairs by political leaders is an inevitable feature of civilised society, we may classify the *Communist Party of the USSR as a professional association voluntarily qualifying itself specially for the exercise of this function, analogous to any other organised scientific profession.* For in the Soviet Union it is claimed that political science takes the place of the electioneering ballyhoo called politics in our western states.

Such an assumption of leadership and guidance in public affairs by a carefully selected, deliberately organised and strictly disciplined vocation plainly constitutes a fundamental difference between the USSR and every other community. Elsewhere this function of leadership and guidance is assumed, often without avowal, by monarchs, aristocracies, churches, military castes or, more recently, by the shifting juntas or groups, termed cabinets or parliaments, composed mostly of landowners, capitalist employers, financiers, merchants, bureaucrats, lawyers or mere accumulators of wealth, with more or less pretense of ascertaining and understanding the desires of the people at large, but to the habitual exclusion of more than a handful of the small peasants and manual working wage-earners who make up two-thirds of the population.

We need not here attempt to measure the success or to estimate the value of this exceptional Vocation of Leadership, which may well be deemed the dominant political feature of Soviet Communism. The student of the past couple of decades of the USSR will not go far wrong if he ascribes to the outstanding members of the Communist Party the initiative and the decision issuing in nearly all the achievements, as well as some of the shortcomings, of the administration since the Revolution of 1917. Nor do we undervalue the passionate zeal and devotion of the far-flung membership when we suggest that it is the peculiar form of organisation of this Vocation of Leadership which seems to have been devised and principally worked out by Lenin and Stalin themselves, that is responsible for much of the amazing degree of success against immense difficulties which in *Soviet Communism* we have had to recount.

Nevertheless, as we have described in *Soviet Communism*, this concentration of authority in a highly disciplined Vocation has had its drawbacks; there has been an atmosphere of fear among the intelligentsia, a succession, within the Party, of accusations and counter-accusations, a denial to dissentient leaders of freedom of combination for the promotion of their views and, among the less intelligent of the rank and file, no small amount of the chronic disease of orthodoxy.

4. Voluntary Organizations.—One of the interesting features of the U.S.S.R. is its universal encouragement of voluntary organizations of all kinds. These spring up whenever a need seems to be present or when a group of enthusiastic people feel that some cause should be promoted. They are encouraged by schools, by political leaders, by the Communist party, and by many other agencies. The Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, described later, are examples of these organizations. A few others may be mentioned.

1. The Osoaviakhim, a patriotic society for the defense of the revolution, numbers millions, and is active in every part of the Union.
2. The League of the Godless, for the emancipation of the people from religion and superstition, is conducting its campaign with a fervor and enthusiasm like those of Christian missionaries.
3. The International Society for Assistance to Revolutionaries in other countries (MOPR) collects funds and disseminates information all over the world.
4. Down with Illiteracy Society.
5. Friends of the Children.
6. Peasant Society for Mutual Assistance (KOV).

There are also many societies promoting athletic sports under the supervision of governmental authorities. All these voluntary organizations provide avenues for the exercise of leadership and a medium for the development of leaders. We shall make no attempt to weigh their value; no doubt some are of little significance, but many are very important factors in promoting the purposes of the Soviet Union.

II. Russia and England: Some Striking Contrasts

Possibly one of the best ways to secure a point of view from which to discuss leadership phenomena in Russia is to contrast

some characteristics of Russia with corresponding ones in England. The contrasts given here are by no means complete, and they may not sufficiently emphasize those that are fundamental; but they should enable us to secure some understanding of the differences in the backgrounds for leadership in the two countries. In certain ways, the contrasts presented may be a bit overdrawn for the sake of emphasis.

1. The Individual and the State.—England is a capitalistic democracy, responsive to changes in the beliefs and attitudes of the people, in which the rights of the individual are dominant. Russia is a communistic democracy which is also responsive to changes in the beliefs of its people but in which, for the present at least, the rights of the individual are swallowed up in those of the state. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say that in Soviet Russia the individual can attain his highest development and realize his completest freedom only by doing those things that are considered by the group best for the group, only by definitely limiting his activities to those approved by the group. Consequently, there is a distinctly greater limitation to individual thought and action in Russia than in England.

2. Classes.—In England, class distinction, class privilege, are still dominant though gradually disappearing; the aristocracy still rules. In Russia, there are no classes; there is no aristocracy, no distinctions of race, sex, language, position; all are workers, and the workers rule. This classless society has been achieved in perhaps the only way possible: by the ruthless elimination of all classes except those of workers; by the confiscation of property and the overthrow of landlords, landowners, and the aristocracy; by the forced supplanting of capitalism by communism. But until all accept and understand the communistic philosophy, there are real differences in opportunity. The elect, no matter what their race or sex or origin, have boundless opportunity limited only by their ability and the needs of the state; those who do not accept the communistic philosophy have, in fact if not in theory, little opportunity.

3. Evolution vs. Revolution.—England has through the centuries slowly developed from an aristocracy, never so absolute

as that of old Russia, toward a real democracy, in which there will be equality of opportunity for all. At least from the time when the Bill of Rights was wrested from an unwilling monarch up to the present, the gradual increase in the power of the people is easy to trace. Perhaps one of the most striking manifestations of this power is evidenced by the abdication of King Edward VIII. Here the fundamental issue was not the moral one, important as this was, but the political one—whether the will of the people, as represented by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, or that of the King should be dominant. The outcome showed beyond question the ascendency of the people, recognized alike by the King, the royal family, the aristocracy, and the common people. This evolution in power has been slow, sometimes almost imperceptible; there has never been any sudden break with what went before. In England, the present is so linked to the past that the completeness of the change can be seen only in retrospect at the time of such a crisis as the recent abdication. Russia, on the other hand, was the outstanding example of an absolute monarchy that had survived well into the present century, long after this type of government had ceased to exist in the rest of the civilized world. With her, the change was sudden, cataclysmic; the revolution broke with all the past; a new order was built not out of its relics but upon its ruins, for it had little of value to offer except examples of what to avoid.

4. Force of Tradition.—In England, tradition is a factor of very great importance; its dominance is seen in church, in school, in politics, in business matters, in dress, in food, in the habits of people. "If it has not been done in this way, it is not right."

Russia prides herself on having no traditions. So complete was her break with the past and so suspicious were her leaders of anything connected with it that much that was good was discarded and destroyed.

5. Freedom of Speech and Action.—In England, the ideal toward which the nation is moving is nowhere clear; it lies in the nature of English life, character, and tradition and is emerging almost unconsciously without definite planning. Connected with this is great freedom of speech, of thought, and of action.

Such freedom is not only allowed; it is promoted; for it is considered essential to the development and progress of the nation. Such restrictions as exist are due more to the traditional reluctance to criticize royalty and to innate English restraint than to any governmental action.

In Russia, the end is sharply defined, and every effort is concentrated upon reaching it. Nothing is allowed to interfere with the accomplishment of this end. There is no freedom except within these limits. Freedom of thought and of speech, guaranteed by the constitution, is allowed only when it is directed toward the accomplishment of the commonly accepted end and toward the best ways of attaining it. There can be no freedom of speech or action that is directed consciously or unconsciously toward any other end. Russian freedom is a freedom among people who have accepted a given objective.

6. English and Russian Ideals.—The English ideal of the successful man is one who rises above his station in life, who achieves wealth or distinction or power, who leaves the class from which he rose.

The Russian ideal is to spend oneself in service to the state. Highest honor is paid to the one who most completely shows the collective spirit, who assists most in the attainment of the Five-year Plan or the Ten-year Plan as outlined. Not wealth, or power, but service to the state is the dominant ideal.

7. Frontiers.—England has no frontier; her problems are those of overproduction, of unemployment, of maintaining standards of living among people who are not needed for production.

Russia has boundless frontiers. Her problem is to increase production; there is no unemployment; all her surplus is spent upon improving the conditions of her people.

8. Tradition vs. a Planned School System.—The England of today inherited her schools from the past. They grew up side by side with the state and have been in some respects distinctly retarding influences upon the development of democracy. The old schools, of aristocratic origin and influence, still dominate the system.

In Russia, schools are an integral part of the state, forged at the same time as the state as a part of a unified plan; they cannot even be understood apart from the fundamental philosophy of the nation. They are not inheritances from the past; they were built anew. The old aristocratic ideals of education no longer exist.

9. Education a Special Privilege of the Few vs. an Obligation for All.—In England, elementary education for the people is free up to fourteen (soon to be fifteen) years of age, but it is quite inadequate to the needs of the children and the nation. Secondary education up to sixteen and eighteen is not free and is provided for only a small part of the population, not over 10 per cent; it is still the privilege of the wealthy and the wellborn. While provision is made for free places and even for maintenance for pupils of superior ability who cannot pay the fees, the number of such places is very inadequate.

In Russia, all education is free and, for the most part, compulsory in some form up to eighteen, the age of full citizenship. There is no special educational privilege; advanced work is based upon ability alone. Not only are there no fees, but grants are made to provide maintenance for those who attend secondary and higher schools. Soviet Russia not only believes in equality of educational opportunity for all, but demands it as well.

III. Sources of Leaders

The constitution of the U.S.S.R. shows clearly that leaders are not chosen from any given class or race or sex. No doubt favoritism exists, especially toward those most zealous in the promotion of the ideals of the Party; but, on the whole, the source of leaders is nation-wide, and the choice of leaders is determined only by ability. Boys and girls, men and women, members of different races—all are alike potential leaders. The only individuals excluded, in part at least, are those who have not accepted the fundamental philosophy of Communism or who do not fully understand it. Even so, it is not uncommon to find as engineers, artisans, research workers, etc., leaders who are not completely

won over to Communism. Of course this liberal point of view does not apply to an activity that is in any way political.

IV. Avenues of Leadership

A. The General Plan

1. Theory vs. Practice.—When dealing with Russian activities, it is often difficult to distinguish between theory and practice. It is a well-known characteristic of Russian leaders to work out beautiful plans on paper and then to treat them as already accomplished facts. How far actual practice is from the formulated plans it is impossible to determine,—or the extent to which the plans may ultimately be realized. In any case, it may be well in this discussion to deal with the plan as outlined, which represents the end in view; for it is only thus that we can get a picture of the place of leaders in Russia's general scheme.

2. Basic Principles.—This general scheme demands leaders in every phase of activity. Soviet Russia is not a dictatorship; decisions are always the result of group action, even though this group action is dominated by a small minority constituting the Party. Since in classless Russia everyone in all phases of life, unskilled laborers, workers on the farm, in the factory, in the store, in the bank, teachers, research workers, actors, musicians, politicians—all are considered workers, the occupational distinctions that exist in England and in the United States are no longer troublesome; in fact, they do not exist. Each type of activity is so organized, theoretically, as to put the emphasis upon ability to perform that activity efficiently. The period of change from the old to the new has been so short, the necessity has been so urgent for educating the illiterate millions, for changing from a state of serfdom and abject slavery to one of efficient self-government, for increasing production to a point where there will be enough for all instead of only enough to provide luxuries for a few while the people starve, that it has been absolutely necessary for the entire nation to be mobilized and to work on forced draught. The fundamental motto "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need" necessitates the provision of avenues

of leadership in every line of activity and the selection of leaders solely upon the basis of their capacity to lead. There is ample evidence to show that the leaders of Soviet Russia are honestly and earnestly striving to carry out their ideal. That they are as

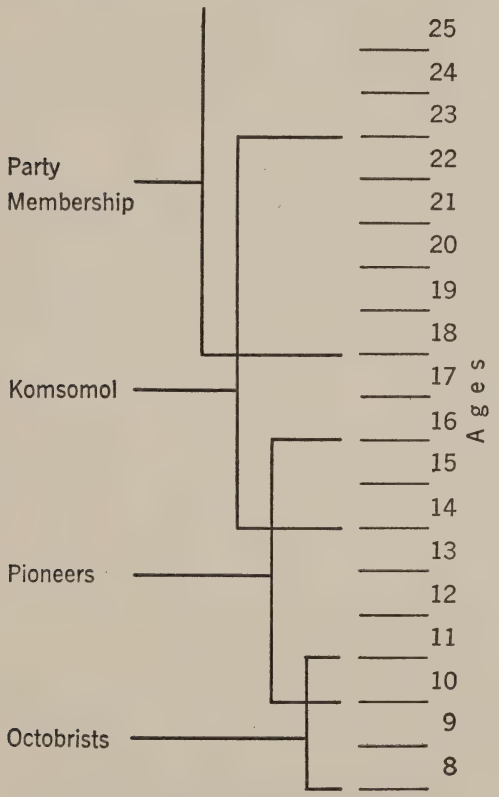

FIG. 3.—Organizations of youth.

yet far short of its complete accomplishment no one can deny. The ideal, at least, is inspiring; the effort is to be admired.

B. Organizations of Youth

One of the most interesting of Soviet Russia's devices for developing leaders is the organizations of youth. Every world

reformer has found in youth his major strength and support. Lenin early recognized this ally and before his death started the plan now in operation.

1. The General Organization.—The general scheme may be seen in Figure 3, on page 131. It will be seen from this diagram that there are three youth organizations:

1. The Octobrists, with the age limits from eight to eleven.
2. The Pioneers, with the age limits from ten to sixteen.
3. The Komsomols, or Young Communist League, with age limits from fourteen to twenty-three.

2. Overlapping Organizations.—Each of these organizations overlaps to some extent the next higher one, the Komsomols overlapping Party membership, which begins at eighteen. Thus there are Octobrists who are also Pioneers, Pioneers who are also Komsomols, and Komsomols who are also Party members. In each case, the higher organizations provide guidance and leadership for the lower.

3. The Komsomol.—All these organizations are communistic, political, and propagandist. Admission to each is carefully safeguarded. For example, if the applicant for admission to the Komsomol belongs to the class of office employees, he must be recommended by two Komsomols of at least two years' standing and a Party member of at least three years' standing. Children of bourgeois origin are treated individually; children of peasants and workers find admission very easy.

After acceptance there is a probationary period up to eighteen months. A Komsomol must attain political literacy—that is, have a knowledge of dialectical materialism, of Marxist economics, etc.—within three years of election to membership. If he fails to satisfy the committee at the end of the period he is not accepted. He or she can be expelled for "conduct unbecoming to a Komsomol," such as drunkenness, obscenity, etc., or for persistent refusal to pay dues. The Komsomol must be anti-religious. Members are expected to keep themselves physically fit for labour and for defence of the country. They must be ready to help in all campaigns for the improvement of the country.[1]

[1] King, Beatrice, *Changing Man: The Soviet Education System*, London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1936, p. 245. Used by special permission of the publisher.

The Komsomol has annual meetings at which a central executive committee is appointed. This committee elects subcommittees. This organization is in reality the backbone of the Soviet nation; it is the advance guard of Communism; it has been foremost in all lines of activity; it works in factories, in the army, the navy, and the air force; it has at least two members attached to each school. As has been said, one of its chief functions is the organization of the Pioneers and the guidance and training of its leaders.

4. The Pioneers.—The Pioneers also have a very important part in promoting the activities of the government. They are organized in the schools but are not, in theory, a part of the schools. They are divided into brigades of about fifty members, and each brigade is divided into Links of ten members. The brigade leader is also a Komsomol. Each Link has a leader selected by its own members. There is a brigade council consisting of the brigade leader, the Link leaders, and a representative of the Komsomol Bureau. The Pioneers have a distinctive dress or uniform; boys and girls are separated from one another in these organizations. A very clear idea of their purpose may be obtained from their oaths and their laws and customs.

Laws.—(1) The Pioneer is true to the cause of the working class and to the Covenant of Lenin. (2) The Pioneer is the younger brother and helper of the Komsomol and the Party. (3) The Pioneer is a comrade to Pioneers and to the workers' and peasants' children of the world. (4) The Pioneer organises the surrounding children and participates with them in the life they live. The Pioneer is an example to all children. (5) The Pioneer strives for knowledge. Knowledge and skill are power in the struggle for the workers' cause.

Customs.—(1) The Pioneer protects his own health and the health of others. He is tolerant and cheerful. He rises early and does his morning exercises. (2) The pioneer economises his own and other people's time. He does his job quickly and promptly. (3) The Pioneer is industrious and persevering, can work collectively under any conditions, and finds the way over obstacles. (4) The Pioneer is careful with other people's property, is careful with his own books and clothes, and with workshop equipment. (5) The Pioneer does not swear nor drink nor smoke.

Oath.—"I, a young Pioneer of the Soviet Union, in the presence of my comrades solemnly promise that I will firmly defend the cause of the working classes in the struggle for the liberation of the workers and peasants of the world, and that I will honourably and unfalteringly carry out the Covenant of Lenin and the laws and customs of a Pioneer."[1]

Like the Komsomols, one of the chief duties that the Pioneers undertake is to assist in the organization and training of the group junior to them, in this case the Octobrists.

5. The Octobrists.—The Octobrists are organized into groups of twenty-five with a Komsomol as leader. They also are in the schools but are not a part of them. Each group is organized into five Links, with a Pioneer as Link leader who is elected by the Komsomol to which the Pioneer unit is attached. The Link elects an assistant leader to work with the Pioneer and the Komsomol leaders.

6. Functions.—Without going into more detail regarding the inner workings of the youth organizations, it can easily be seen that they can be of the utmost service not only in promoting Communism but in the selection and training of leaders. They provide really worth-while work for the young; they furnish ways through which their members may contribute to the attainment of the objectives set up by the state. The work for each group is graded in such a way as to provide real training for ever larger fields of usefulness and responsibility. They also provide invaluable practice to their members in choosing their own leaders. No data are available that make it possible to determine how large a percentage of each age group is actually enrolled in these organizations, but a conservative estimate places the total number at over two million. But it is not the plan of the organizations to enroll all youth between eight and twenty-three. Their membership, like that of the Party, is reserved for a select few who because of their ability, intelligence, and zeal are counted worthy of the honor. This plan, with its overlapping membership and its gradual development of a sense of responsibility, is an extremely well-thought-out and effective device for the selection

[1] King. Beatrice, *op. cit.*, p. 248. Used by special permission of the publisher.

and training of leaders. Whatever may be our opinion regarding the ideals which the clubs uphold and the effect of so much strenuous work laid upon the shoulders of these youths, we cannot but admire their careful organization and the effectiveness of their administration.

C. Voluntary Organizations and Party Membership

Very important avenues for training and utilizing leaders are also found in the Party organization and in the voluntary societies described on pages 122 to 125. Whatever defects in the entire scheme may become apparent as a result of experience, the Soviet government certainly has spared no pains in developing avenues for leadership activity and leadership training.

V. Russian Schools and Leadership

1. The Task of the Soviet Government.—It is not possible within the limits of this discussion to deal even superficially with all phases of education in Russia. Nor is it desirable to do so, for we are here interested only in the relation of the schools to leadership selection and leadership training. We shall also deal only with the schools as planned. It must be remembered that up to the end of the second decade of the present century Russia was largely illiterate. It is impossible to obtain accurate data on this point, but reliable Russian authorities report that at the beginning of the century not more than 5 per cent of the population was in school and that in 1917 less than 30 per cent of the population could read and write. Under the old regime, there were fine scholarship and high artistic achievement. Russia contributed much in literature, art, and music, but these attainments were limited to only a very few. The prevailing view was that education was only for the select few: it was not merely unnecessary for the peasant to be educated but undesirable as well; universal education would be a menace to the state.

After the Revolution, the task of educating the masses was a tremendous one. Even if we are to discount the statistics on enrollment in schools published by the Russian government, the accomplishment has been little short of miraculous. Education

in each Republic is in the hands of a Commissariat of Education, and it is only natural that the facilities in each Republic should differ widely. There is, however, a well-defined plan for the whole educational system, and it is toward the accomplishment

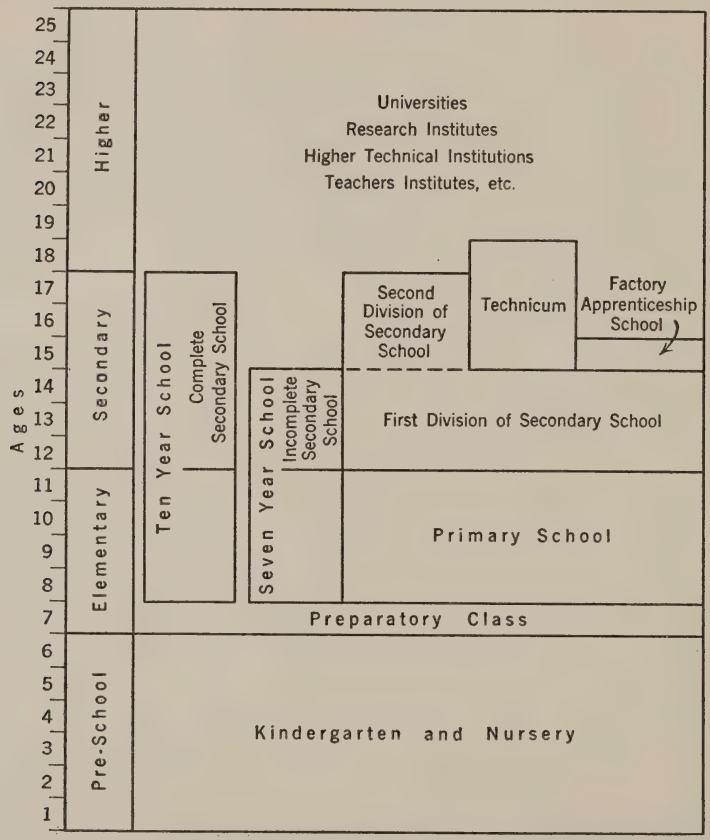

FIG. 4.—General organization of Russian schools for children and youth.

of this plan that every Republic is working. It is this plan that will be discussed briefly.

2. The School System of Soviet Russia.—Figure 4, on this page, simplified for the sake of clarity, will show the general plan. Adult education and higher education are omitted, not because

they are unimportant but because we are here dealing only with the education of youth. In considering this system of schools, one should clearly understand that there is only *one* system in Russia, not several as in England. The schools are for all, and all attend each school; there is no segregation of individuals or of sexes.

The lowest school is the nursery or infants' school with the kindergarten. From this school, all pass automatically to the preparatory class, which is sometimes attached to the lower school and sometimes to the next higher school. Above this school is a ten-year school, which the pupil attends from the age of eight to eighteen. When sufficient ten-year schools are established, education will be compulsory up to the age of eighteen; this is the ideal toward which all efforts are being directed. At present there are in operation two other types of school: the primary school, taking children for four years, from the age of eight to twelve; and the seven-year, or the incomplete secondary, school, for children from eight to fifteen.

Specialization begins at fifteen, or at the end of the seven-year school. At this stage, the pupil may go on through the three years of the ten-year school; he may go to the *technicum* for specialization; or he may enter a factory apprentice school. His choice is determined largely by his interests, special abilities, and capacity to profit from further education. Those who show promise of the ability to profit by the work and who wish to do so complete the last three years of the ten-year secondary school, which is mainly cultural; they may afterward go on to the university or to some other institution of higher education. Those who choose the *technicum* receive intermediate technical and professional training in a great variety of lines; some general training is given, but much of the time is devoted to specialization. There are *technicums* for training foremen of factories, teachers, office managers, accountants, etc., for preparation in transportation work, for specialization in music and art, and for almost every kind of socially useful work. It is possible for those who complete the work of the *technicums* to secure higher education under certain restrictions.

Much time and effort are spent upon the proper selection of pupils for the various lines of specialization. Psychological and industrial tests of various kinds are used as aids, the interests of pupils are considered, and social need is definitely taken into account. Parents, teachers, doctors, psychologists, and the pupils themselves are consulted in making the decision.

3. Equalization of Education Opportunity.—It will thus be seen that, unlike England, Soviet Russia attempts to provide opportunities for education up to the age of eighteen for every child, in schools that are open to everyone. There are no select schools for special classes of people; all may attend the same school. Specialization when it occurs is not based upon social standing or financial status. In theory, at least, Soviet schools provide equal opportunity for everyone, according to his ability, to receive the training that will fit him for leadership; indeed, the Russian motto "From each according to his capacity" demands this equality. Soviet Russia believes that leadership ability is democratic; it is not confined to any one class or possessed exclusively by the children of any one group of workers.

4. Methods of Work and Discipline.—The methods of work in the Soviet school do not seem to be especially distinctive. In the early days of the school organization, all sorts of new devices were tried out. Most of these have been discarded, and the methods now in use do not differ in any marked respect from those employed in American schools. Considerable emphasis is placed upon collective or group work, in which each pupil in a group contributes his part to the enterprise undertaken. It is expected that this type of work will develop the collective spirit so essential in Soviet ideals. Student control of the classroom, a feature in the first schools established, has given way more and more to teacher control; at present, the teacher alone is held responsible for the work of the class. The examination system is almost wholly internal. The questions asked are graded in difficulty according to the ability of the pupils and are directed at the weak, rather than the strong, spots of the work.

5. Student Government.—One feature that merits special consideration is the student self-government. This has been a

very important factor in the schools from the beginning. So much responsibility for the conduct of the school was at first placed upon the children that little time and energy were left for the studies. At present, the duties of the children have been greatly reduced; in the first two classes, their responsibility is very small, and they work mostly under the class guidance and suggestions of the teacher. However, the plan as now in operation gives far more place for individual initiative and responsibility than does the system obtaining in most English schools and at least as much as that in the more advanced American schools. A bare outline of the main points in the regulations on children's self-government laid down in 1932 will show something of the plan as set up. Again, we must not take for granted that all phases of the scheme are now found in actual operation in the schools; nevertheless it does show the plan as a whole.

1. The children's self-government in the school must embrace all children.

2. The highest organ of the children's self-government in schools of under 300 is the general school meeting of pupils. In schools of over 300 children, the highest organ is the general school conference, the delegates to which are elected in class meeting, one delegate for every five to ten pupils.

3. The general school meeting, or conference, elects a pupils' committee of fifteen members twice a year. The head of the school, teachers from the primary and secondary schools, a representative from the factory or farm with which the school is associated, and a representative from the Komsomol are also members of the pupils' committee.

4. The general school meeting, or conference, is called by the pupils' committee in agreement with the head, for the election of the pupils' committee and the consideration of other matters that concern the school.

5. The duties of the pupils' committee are described as follows:

a. The Pupils' Committee organises all practical work. Through its sub-committee it directs the self-government work in the class and in all pupils' organisations in the school. It receives reports from class

prefects, judges experiments, and passes on the best of them from one class to another. . . .

b. The Pupils' Committee watches that children are not overburdened with social duties, and arranges social evenings in the holidays. It organises the play-time in school, is in charge of the cleanliness and orderliness of the school, and organises the monitors.

c. The Pupils' Committee is the link with the School Council, with the school production meetings, with the factory, collective farm, and State farm organisation to which the school is attached. The committee appoints its permanent representative to the School Council and to the Methods Bureau. The committee directs the school wall-newspaper, appoints an editor from its members. The editorial board is elected at the School Conference or general meeting. The school editorial board helps the classes with their wall-newspapers.

d. The Pupils' Committee settles problems arising out of bad behaviour. It must change wrong decisions of the C. S. G. organisations, always explaining to the children where they were mistaken.

e. The Pupils' Committee harmonises and unites the work of the Pioneer organisations with the children's self-government.[1]

6. The Komsomol and the Pioneers (see page 132) are very influential in the organization of the work.

7. The pupils' committee elects (*a*) a chairman, (*b*) a secretary, (*c*) a leader of study and manual work, and (*d*) a leader of cultural work. The rest of the committee is divided up among the leaders to help in their work.

8. Self-government in the class.

a. The highest organ of self-government in the class is the general meeting of pupils.

b. The general class meeting elects a class committee of five to direct the work of the class. This committee directs the life and activities of the class organizations; it appoints its own chairman, the class prefect, the class secretary, and leaders for studies, manual work, and mass cultural work.

c. The class committee has as additional members the leader delegated to self-government in the class, a representative of the parents, and a cultural worker from the factory workers, peasants, and professional workers who are connected with the school.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99. Used by special permission of the publisher.

d. "Self-government organises the pupils into various brigades and circles, utilising the self-activity and initiative of the children. One brigade is responsible for regular and punctual attendance, finds out how many, and why, children are late or absent, decides on the necessary measures to help them. Other brigades are responsible for cleanliness and order in the classroom, for helping backward children, for polytechnical work, etc. . . . Children form brigades and circles as they please. A brigade should have no more than five children in the older classes and three or four in the younger classes. A circle consists of all children with the same interests. Every brigade appoints a brigadier, and every circle a prefect, to organise and keep a record of the work.

e. "The class prefect arranges for class monitors, and forms the link between the class and its teacher, the School Pupils' Committee, the Head of the school, and the School Council. He or she organises meetings of the Class Council, general class meetings, records, and puts forward suggestions for the improvement of studies and cultural work in the class.

f. "The class teacher is responsible to the Head for the Children's Self-government in the class, helps the brigades in their work, holds discussions with the children on self-government, notes this or that failure. . . . "[1]

6. The Circles.—With the help of the Pioneers and teachers, out-of-school circles, or clubs, are organized in nearly every line of activity. These are much like the clubs of our American high schools but somewhat more comprehensive. Some circles are led by pupils, others by teachers. In describing the work of the circles in Kharpov, Beatrice King gives some idea of their character:

There is a *radio circle* led by a boy, an *aero-model circle* of 70 children led by a girl. The *choral circle* has 150 children and appears the most popular. The *physical culture circle* comes second with 130 children; the *string orchestra* has 35 members; while the *percussion band* has 40. The *agitational-propaganda* circle which works in the holidays has 25 members. The *literature circle*, which reviews books and plays, reads and

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

writes, has 50 children, four of whom, I was told, show great promise of becoming writers. There is an *art circle* with 30 members, a *construction circle* with 30, an *electro-technical circle* with 20, a *chemistry circle* with 30, a *dramatic circle* with 50, and a *photographic circle* with 50 members. There are several *political circles*, led partly by a teacher and partly by elder pupils, for the purpose of studying modern politics and events. Each circle spends two hours a week on its activities. *The school equipment and apparatus are used for circle work.* The patron factory and the parents help with the material, and as a last resort it is bought at a reduced price. An interesting circle is the *backward or slow children's circle.* They are collected by the class teacher and helped by the abler pupils and the teacher.[1]

These circles afford another opportunity for the development of individual interests and special abilities and also for leadership activities.

7. Intelligent Leadership.—The safety of any nation demands not only that leaders shall be selected and educated but also that these leaders shall be intelligent, that they shall be thoroughly familiar with the ideals that the nation cherishes and shall accept them with enthusiasm. We are not here concerned with the worth of the ideals of the Soviet Republic or with the possibility of their acceptance by other nations. We are concerned only with the effectiveness of the means adopted to put these ideals into operation and to train the future leaders of Soviet Russia.

Two of the dominant purposes of her leaders have been:

1. To make Russia educationally literate.
2. To make Russia politically literate.

From the very beginning of the new nation, Russian leaders have seen the necessity of making the entire Russian people educationally and politically literate; they have striven to secure a broad education for all and to produce citizens who were well trained in the ideals and purposes of the Soviet form of government. The task was enormous, but they set about it with enthusiasm and intelligence and have attained remarkable results, considering the difficulty of the undertaking and the brief time that the experiment has been underway. They have seen the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169. Used by special permission of the publisher.

special importance of providing intelligent leaders. Every part of the work of the school is permeated with the purpose of developing an understanding of Russia and of the principles of Communism. Every subject makes a definite contribution to this end. Literature, geography, and social service are especially relied upon to develop this understanding.

Since, according to Lenin, "the school apart from life, apart from politics is a lie and a hypocrisy," every effort is made to keep the school close to social and political life and to industry. To this end, each school is associated with some production unit such as a factory or a farm. The connection is a real one, for the factory often supplies the school with material and tools for the workshop; the children, with clothes and food. Often a qualified worker in the factory is detailed to take charge of the practical work in the school. The factory elects its representative to sit in the school council. Often, for special purposes, the children visit the factory in groups. Such an arrangement is part of the general plan of "polytechnization" adopted as a principle of education. The aim of this plan is "the all round education of a highly developed worker, who could at the same time be worker and the master of industry." "What was wanted was to equip the great masses with elementary industrial culture and to arm them with a wide polytechnized outlook, and the ability to apply their knowledge and skill to the most varied conditions."[1]

The general scope and purpose of polytechnization may be seen from the following quotation from a textbook published in 1932:

> The minimum of knowledge includes information on the Socialist organisation of the chief branches of industry, national economy, individual undertakings, shops, industrial aggregates, and benches. In all matters dealing with the organisation of industry there must be the explanation of the very fundamental principal differences between Socialist and capitalist production, and the meaning of the Socialist organisation of economy in the development of the productive forces of the country. A well-defined outline of knowledge of the organisation of industry must include information on the following subjects:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 59. Used by special permission of the publisher.

1. The management of industry, a knowledge of the work of industrial and professional organisations, and the leading role of the Party organisation of the enterprise.

2. Planning of Socialist production as a whole, and for separate branches of industry, and for individual undertakings.

3. The accounts and control of production.

4. Socialist organisation of labour (Socialist competition, shock brigades), the realisation of Stalin's historical Six Points about work and the new economic conditions.

5. Socialist rationalisation of industry; mechanisation, automatisation, mass production, etc.

6. The technique of safety and welfare.

7. The place of each branch of production in the national economy, and its connection with other branches of industry and agricultural economy.

These problems are to be studied as part of the ordinary course of social science and other subjects. This general information on the scientific principles of the organisation of industry must be correlated with practical experience of industry. For example, a knowledge of benches, shops, engines, etc., must be given practically.

The theoretical knowledge of the organisation of production must have its complement in practical skill, the ability to work within a Socialist framework, the ability to plan, to prepare statistics, to control the simplest industrial processes, and their own labour. This practical knowledge is to be acquired by the children in the process of the correct organisation of their work in the school workshops, and in the process of actual work. Energetics is to play an important part in polytechnisation. The widespread study of electricity is closely connected with the political aims. Lenin said: "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country, for without electrification production cannot be increased.[1]

The children are not expected to be experts when they leave school.

They are expected to have, however, and as far as my experience goes they do have, an *intelligent grasp* of the *economic system and the organisation of production in their country by the time they leave at sixteen or eighteen years old.* They will all be able to use a great variety of tools, and have an acquaintance with a number of different machines and

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63. Used by special permission of the publisher.

motors, and should be much more adaptable than the previous generations.[1]

Even though this purpose were only half achieved, we must admit that the Russian boy and girl would be far better informed regarding the ideals of the Soviet Union and its program than are the graduates of our American high schools concerning the form of government and the ideals of the United States.

The activities of the youth organizations—the Komsomol, the Pioneers, and the Octobrists—are additional factors in making the young people conscious of the fundamental principles of the Soviet nation; these agencies are very important not only because they give their members an increased knowledge of these principles, but because they develop in them a loyalty and intense enthusiasm which amount to religious fervor. Young people in Russia are made to feel that they each have a vital part in the accomplishment of the Soviet ideals; they are not simply preparing to take their places later on; they have a vital place now and are an essential part of the entire program.

VI. Conclusion

The organization of the U.S.S.R. as a whole is a splendid example of a coordinated, unified, integrated system directed toward a well-defined end. This end is not power and domination over other nations and peoples, but what is correctly or incorrectly conceived as the highest development of each individual. "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need."

Within the limits of the form of government accepted, there are no classes, no special privileges, no place for personal ambitions apart from the good of the whole. Leaders are selected from every source and avenue, regardless of anything but capacity to lead. Opportunity is very early provided for the exercise of leadership. Such opportunities increase gradually with age and experience under careful guidance and supervision. The schools are so closely connected with productive work in shop, factory, and farm that there is no sharp line between education and life.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 65. Used by special permission of the publisher.

Each young person is given not only experience in citizenship activities but also a very real and vital part in the life of the school, the community, and the state. The aim of the Soviet state is to make each person, especially each leader, socially and politically intelligent so that he not only knows the ideals and purposes of the state but has a clear conception of its plan for attaining these ideals and his own place and function in the plan. Experience will doubtless show many defects in the plan and necessitate changes; certain changes have already been made. Too much may be expected of children, especially in the way of social participation. Some of the practices now considered necessary because of the intensity of the drive for the goals set up may be found unnecessary or inappropriate when these goals have been more nearly achieved. As it is today, the plan of the Soviet state is an intelligent, unified, stimulating project for the selection and training of leaders, and in spite of differences in political and social ideals it has many valuable suggestions for American education and American political life.

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PART III

THE UNITED STATES AND LEADERSHIP

The chief responsibility for the selection and training of leaders in any country must rest with those agencies, educational, industrial, and economic, that are set up especially for youth or in which youth participate. In England, these agencies comprise the various kinds of postprimary schools and the apprenticeship system. In Russia, they include the strictly educational institutions for youth, the youth organizations of the Communist party, and the various industrial, social, and political activities and experiences planned especially for youth. In the United States, we should include the secondary schools—the junior high school, the senior high school, and the junior college—the public, semipublic, and private organizations (emergency and others) set up for youth; and the apprenticeship or in-service training of youth. In Part III, we shall deal chiefly with the secondary schools and their relation to the selection and training of leaders, with incidental references to other agencies.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND COLONIAL SCHOOLS

The early English colonists carried with them into the New World the habits, customs, and ideals that were theirs in the mother country. One of the most striking of their predilections was their anxiety to provide for the development of leaders. Frontiers always utilize or develop leaders of certain types. English Colonial America was no exception and there were notable leaders in all the colonies, many of whom became leaders only after they had reached the new country. Important as this opportunity for the development of new leaders was, there was a much greater significance in the real concern of the colonies that provision should be made for the selection and training of boys who showed promise of becoming leaders and of being able to deal successfully with the problems that would surely arise in the future. The methods used for this purpose differed in the several colonies according to the differences in their traditions and in the general conditions surrounding them. The New England colonies, and to a lesser extent the middle colonies, adopted one policy; the Southern colonies as a whole adopted a policy that was somewhat different. No attempt will be made to describe all the various methods used. Only two colonies are selected to show certain divergent ideals and methods. These are Virginia and Massachusetts Bay.

I. Virginia

1. Character of the Colonists.—We are not here interested in the early settlements in Virginia, for they concerned themselves little with the establishment of schools or the development of methods for the selection and training of leaders. A large proportion of the early immigrants were English gentlemen broken in fortune, seeking gold or other easy means to wealth. They

were entirely unsuited to cope with the conditions of the new country. Out of 500 persons alive in Virginia in 1609, all but about 60 had died by May, 1610. After this disastrous beginning, the company adopted a different policy and sent over a larger number of laborers and artisans; this change in personnel made possible better adaptation to the conditions in the country. The development of the colony and the type of settler were also greatly affected by the fact that between 1614 and 1618 the colony fell into the hands of the Puritans. On the whole, Virginia colonists who came over after 1620 were not unlike those in Massachusetts Bay in general character—English yeomen, country squires, artisans, and laborers. There were, however, certain important differences. The New England colonists were dissenters from the Church of England and had come to America to obtain freedom to worship God according to their beliefs. Deprived of the opportunity to train their ministers or to educate their children in the old established schools in England, they had begun while yet in England to set up schools in the parishes of their own churches, to which they sent their boys. When they came to America, the parishes became the towns, and the parish school became the town Latin grammar school. Harvard was established for the purpose of training their ministers.

The Virginia colonists were adherents of the Church of England, and the object of their settlement was individual gain and the increase of English commerce. In England, the Virginia colonists had been under no necessity to establish new schools to which their boys could go. They were accustomed to sending them to the great English Public Schools or to schools like them; many even had private tutors. Consequently the schools established in Virginia were largely private or endowed. Another difference between the colonies which was directly related to this was very significant for the development of schools. In New England, there was a much larger proportion of educated clergymen than in Virginia, and they were much more influential in shaping the policy of the colony.

2. Climate and Crops.—Another very significant difference is seen in the marked contrast in climate and possible crops. In

New England, all of the ground had to be cleared, the soil was poor and rocky, and it was difficult to eke out a bare existence; the climate was severe, and the settlements usually small and compact. In Virginia, while much of the land had to be cleared, there were more open spaces; the soil was richer, especially in the bottom lands along the rivers; and the climate was milder. The cultivation of tobacco had very important effects upon the development of the colony The rapid adoption of the use of tobacco in one form or another in European countries created a demand that greatly stimulated the development of Virginia. The introduction of indentured servants, and especially of Negro slaves, made large plantations possible. The tobacco farms were situated on the banks of the James River and other rivers, and vessels could load directly from the banks. Hence there was no need for a central place or depot in which to store the produce. On this account, the population was scattered; there were few towns of any size. A situation such as this was not favorable to the development of schools. These conditions resulted in the development of classes in Virginia society that were more distinct than those in the New England type of democracy. There really were only two classes: (1) rich planters, who were comparatively few in number; and (2) the various classes of laborers, servants, or slaves. For 200 years there was no strong middle class.

3. Elementary and Secondary Schools.—Since the early Virginia settlers had few children of their own, there was no need for schools. The first provision for education of any kind referred to the care and training of the orphans that were sent over from the hospitals and asylums in England in 1619. Laws that followed referred mostly to apprenticeship and merely required that such children be taught the rudiments.

Later, the Virginian planters recognized the need of providing facilities for the education of their own children. They naturally carried over and put into practice, as far as they could, the plans to which they had been accustomed in England. Many provided private tutors, who not infrequently taught the children belonging to several families. Some who could afford it even sent their

sons to England to the great English Public Schools and to English colleges. There were also attempts from time to time to establish in Virginia endowed schools patterned after the English secondary schools. The earliest attempts were interrupted by the Indian massacre of 1622. The Symms School and the Eaton School, established near the middle of the seventeenth century, were founded upon bequests of land, property, and money and provided educational facilities for a large number of children. In 1805, these two institutions were combined and incorporated as Hampden Academy. It is probable that other schools were founded on the same general plan. These schools gave instruction in the elementary branches and also in those commonly given in secondary schools: the classics, mathematics, some science, and English. There can be no doubt that many boys, especially, received their early training in schools of this type.

4. William and Mary College.—The London Company and the early settlers showed marked interest in the establishment of a college. Gifts of land and money were made in 1619 for such a purpose, and plans were formulated. In 1620, George Thorpe, an Englishman, was appointed to take charge, but these efforts were frustrated first by the Indian massacre of 1622 and later, in 1624, by the revocation of the charter of the London Company. Another abortive attempt was made in 1624. But the bequests for the establishment of this college had been made contingent upon the failure of heirs in a certain line of descent. Heirs were born, and the bequests became inoperative.

The first college actually to be established in Virginia was the College of William and Mary, in 1693. In 1660, an act of the General Assembly provided the first step. This act provided "that, for the *advancement of learning, education of youth, supply of ministry, and the promotion of piety* there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free school, and that there be, with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers."[1] Some subscriptions were obtained, but it was not until 1691 that definite steps were

[1] Hening, William W., *Statutes of Virginia*, 2: 25.

taken to establish the college. In this year, the Rev. James Blair was sent to England by the General Assembly to secure for the college a charter from the king. After two years, the charter was obtained, and royal endowments of land and money were given. Other funds and endowments were obtained from private sources, and the income from certain rents and taxes was set aside for the use of the college.

The purpose of the college, as given in the request of the General Assembly for a royal endowment, was "to the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God."

The college consisted of three parts or departments: (1) the grammar school, where students could obtain the training in Latin and Greek necessary for beginning the study of philosophy, mathematics, and divinity; (2) the school of philosophy, which was divided into two parts: (*a*) moral philosophy, rhetoric, logic, and ethics and (*b*) physics, metaphysics, and mathematics; (3) the divinity school. The grammar school and the divinity school were abolished in 1779. The boys entered the grammar school at about nine years of age and the college proper at about fifteen. The course in the college was, for many years, two years in length for the Bachelor of Arts degree and two additional years for that of Master of Arts.

The general plan of Oxford University was followed in the organization and operation of the college. The college had a strong bias toward law and politics, and many of the leading men of the new nation studied there. Among them were Peyton Randolph; Thomas Jefferson; John Tyler, Sr.; Edmund Randolph; and John Marshall. Williamsburg became the center of the political, social, and cultural life of Virginia.

In colonial Virginia there was an *entente cordiale* between the college, the church and the state. The clergy held their conventions in the college buildings, and, before this capitol was built, the House of Burgesses used to assemble in the academic halls. The head of the

college was the head of the church in Virginia, and there was a representative of the college in the House of Burgesses down to the Revolution. These facts merely illustrate the intimacy of educational, ecclesiastical, and political relations in that social microcosm at Williamsburg.[1]

This statement indicates what, perhaps more than anything else, was the cause of the influence of the college upon the life of Virginia and the nation.

5. Practical Training of Leaders.—While the schools established had unquestioned influence upon the selection and training of leaders, the conditions of life itself were also very important factors. Most of the leaders in Colonial Virginia were sons of men who owned large estates and who had many servants and slaves. These sons were very early accustomed to participating in the management of the plantation. While the experience of Washington was probably unusual, it may be taken to a large degree as typical in kind of the early training of Southern boys. We know that at the age of twelve Washington rode at Bridges Creek (one of his father's plantations), watched slaves at work, and mastered the routine of tobacco growing and stock raising. At the age of fourteen, he learned the elements of surveying and was able to plot and measure the fields of his brothers and neighbors. At twenty, on the death of his brother, he became the manager of a large plantation.

Practical apprenticeship experiences of this kind were factors of very great importance in the development of leaders in Virginia and the other Southern colonies. By their very position as sons of large plantation owners, the young men were already leaders; they learned, as boys, how to lead by actual participation in the management of the plantation and in the overseeing of servants and slaves. Such surroundings could not fail to reveal and develop any innate qualities of leadership.

6. Sources of Leaders.—The early leaders in Virginia were, of course, born and educated in England and owed their position of leadership to their station in England, to their wealth and

[1] Adams, Herbert B., The College of William and Mary, U. S. Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information* No. 1, 1887, p. 28.

ownership of land, fully as much as to their ability. A few had originally been indentured servants but, because of their training and ability, had been able to acquire property and influence. Subsequent leaders, up to the time of the Revolution, were largely of the same class. That is, leadership in Virginia was restricted for the most part to the class of landed proprietors, to the gentry, who by means of large holdings of land, of many slaves and other servants, occupied positions of unusual importance. They were the ones who attended the secondary schools and the College of William and Mary.

7. Avenues of Leadership.—As has already been said, the landed proprietors, the owners of large plantations, were leaders because of their very position. They exercised large powers over their servants and slaves. Matters of general colonial policy were by the nature of the case very much their concern, and their opinion was influential in matters affecting the colony. They were the ones who were elected to the House of Burgesses, and who were selected as officers in the militia. Almost every avenue of leadership in the colony was open to sons of the gentry. Not only was this true, but they were expected, as in England, to assume the responsibility of leadership. Occasionally we do find leaders, especially in war, who sprang up from obscure backgrounds. The general tendency was, however, to stress birth, position, and wealth as basic for leadership.

II. The New England Colonists

The conditions surrounding the New England colonists were very different from those in early Virginia and the other colonies. The latter group contributed their full quota of great leaders who determined the course of the English colonies and shaped the national government. New England, however, has a peculiar interest to us in this discussion because of the character of its settlers and the nature of its system of schools. It is for this reason that we may find some help in a more careful survey of the conditions in the New England colonies out of which leaders arose, especially of the provisions that the New England settlers made in their schools for the selection and

training of their future leaders. To understand this, we may well review briefly the circumstances of their emigration from England and the conditions that confronted them on their arrival.

1. Classes of Immigrants.—The "Great Migration" of Puritans began about 1629 and continued for about eleven years, until 1640. It is estimated that during this time some 25,000 men, women, and children came to the shores of New England. Not all of them were Puritans, nor were all actuated by religious motives in their migration to America. In almost every great migration, the same phenomenon is seen: a comparatively small number of outstanding leaders fired by an ideal or impelled by a thirst for adventure, eager to attack the problems in a new land; a large number (1) of those who catch the contagion of the leader's enthusiasm and follow more or less blindly and (2) of those who lack the ability to adjust themselves to the conditions that face them and will eagerly accept any avenue of escape from the circumstances which they have no courage to face. It was so in this migration. Some of the New England immigrants were outstanding men, fired with a splendid zeal to establish a new and better order of society; many left England because of extreme poverty or because they were unable to cope with the conditions around them.

The immigrants may be divided into five rather distinct classes:

1. Gentlemen, who alone had the right to the title of Master (Mr.). These included the "gentry," doctors, ministers, and schoolmasters.

2. Skilled artisans and freeholders, usually addressed as "Goodman." They included carpenters, brickmakers, stonecutters, ironworkers, farmers, gardeners, engineers, and surveyors.

3. Unskilled laborers.

4. Servants, who usually became artisans or laborers. Some of them were indentured servants; many were a bad lot and a continual source of trouble to the colony.

5. Slaves. There soon were many of these, both Negro and Indian.

"The great body of Puritans themselves had been shopkeepers, artisans, and small farmers in England. They were plain, uneducated men who *followed* a trusted minister or an honored neighbor of the gentry class."[1] But the ministers and some, at least, of the members of the gentry class were outstanding, virile leaders or became so under the force of the circumstances that confronted them. Massachusetts Bay Colony, in particular, contributed greatly to the direction taken by the other New England colonies and to the nation as it developed.

2. Character of the Colonists.

In the number, character, distribution, and quality of her educational institutions, she [Massachusetts Bay Colony] was pre-eminent, and established precedents which greatly influenced other colonies. The Puritan migration to Massachusetts was unique in colonial history for several reasons. The race stock was almost pure English, for the most part of one section, and of excellent quality. Rev. William Stoughton, in his election sermon of 1668, declared that "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into the Wilderness." Again, the proportion of educated leaders was probably higher than in any other colony. Nearly one hundred university graduates of Oxford and Cambridge settled in New England before 1650, most of whom acted as pastors of churches. The progress of civilization depends in large part on the ability and energy of its leaders, and in this respect Massachusetts was most fortunate. Nearly three-fourths of one hundred clergymen mentioned were from the University of Cambridge. More than twenty of these leaders were educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and were contemporaries of such men as John Robinson, Oliver Cromwell, and John Milton, who had received a portion of their education in this institution. Among these leaders were John Cotton, Nathaniel Ward, Thomas Shepard, and John Harvard. John Winthrop, the elder, attended Trinity; and Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, graduated from Magdalen College. The migration to New England in 1643 is commonly reckoned at about 20,000, or 4,000 families. Thus there would be one person in forty families, or one for every 200 emigrating, who had received university training. It is estimated that Massachusetts had a population of about 9,000 in 1639. Moreover, a large proportion of her university men lived within a short

[1] West, W. M.: *History of the American People*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1918–1922, p. 72. Used by special permission of the publisher.

distance of Boston or Cambridge. It is safe to say that such a concentration of educated men, in a new settlement, has never been duplicated. They were the intellectual leaders who gave the community its educational ideals.[1]

3. Early Provisions for Training of Leaders.—It was perhaps natural, though certainly very significant, that these colonists, transplanted as they were from their native England, with its privileges and opportunities, its schools and colleges, to the bleak wilderness of New England, should very early make provisions for schools and colleges. We have already seen what a large proportion of outstanding leaders of considerable educational training even then were in their midst. These were the ministers and schoolmasters. We can readily believe that without such leaders the history of New England would have been far different, could never have taken the lead that it did in the development of the nation.

The colonists clearly recognized that there must be, at all costs, definite provision for training a supply of leaders for the future. The severance of the tie with the mother country cut them off almost entirely from the schools and colleges upon which they had previously relied for such leaders. Some substitute must be provided. With characteristic energy and foresight, they at once began preparations to remedy this lack. The Latin grammar schools, founded in 1635, and Harvard College, founded in 1636, were the result. The purpose in the minds of the colonists in establishing these schools is very clearly seen in the various statements accompanying their foundation.

4. Purpose of College and Grammar School.

One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust.

. . . . . .

And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole, for the

[1] Jernegan, Marcus W., The Beginnings of Public Education in New England, *School Review*, **23**: 325–326, January–December, 1915. Used by special permission of the publisher.

training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole.[1]

Charter of Harvard College

Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have binn, and dajly are, mooved and stirred vp to give and bestowe sundry guifts, legacies, lands, and revenewes for the advancement of all good litterature, arts, and sciences in Harvard Colledge, in Cambridge, in the county of Midlesex, and to the maintenance of the praesident and ffellowes, and for all accom̃odac̃ons of buildings, and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indjan youth of this country in knowledge and godliness, itt is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the authoritje thereof, that for the furthering of so good a worke, and for the purposes aforesaid, ffrom henceforth that the sajd Colledge in Cambridge, in Midlesex, in New England, shall be a corporac̃on consisting of seven persons, . . . and that all the afforesajd transactions shall tend to and for the vse and behoofe of the praesident, fellowes, schollers, and officers of the sajd colledge, and for all accom̃odac̃ons of buildings, books, and all other necessary provic̃ons and furnitures as may be for the advauncement and educac̃on of youth in all manner of good litterature, arts, and scyences. And further, be it ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that all the lands, tennements, and haeredittaments, howses, or revennewes within this jurisdicc̃on, to the aforesajd praesident or colledge apertajning, not exceeding the valew of five hundred pounds *p* añum, shall from henceforth be freed from all civill imposic̃ons, taxes, and rates; all goods to the sajd corporac̃on, or to any schollers thereof, appertajning, shall be exempt from all manner of toulle, customes, excise whatsoeuer; and that the praesident, fellowes, and schollers, together with the servants and other necessary officers to the sajd praesident or colledge appertajning, not exceeding ten, viz., three to the praesident, and seven to the colledge belonging, shall be exempted from all personall, civill offices, millitary exercise, or services, watchings, and wardings; and such of their estates, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, shall be freed from all country taxes and rates whatsoeuer, and no other.[2]

[1] "New England's First Fruits," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year* 1792, Vol. I, Series 1, pp. 242–243.

[2] *The Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, Vol. IV, Part I, 1650–1660, pp. 12–14.

The same general purpose is declared in the famous preamble to the Law of 1647:

PREAMBLE TO LAW OF 1647 (MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY)

It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning might not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors. . . . [1]

5. Types of Leaders Provided For.—It should be noted here that these schools were intended to provide training for only one type of leader, the minister. We have already seen how preeminent was the influence of the minister, especially in the early Colonial period. Perhaps there should be added another type of leader, the schoolmaster, for which the schools should provide. It is also true that the preliminary training of the physician and, to a lesser extent, that of the lawyer could be obtained only in the same schools. If we include all of these, the minister, the schoolmaster, the physician, and the lawyer, we shall quite fully cover all the types of leader for which the early Colonial schools were intended to provide. It was never the intention to provide for the training of the business leader, the industrial leader, or the military leader in such schools. These leaders were important, but the schools were not then thought of as suitable or necessary agencies for their training.

The schools were never large. Even in its palmiest days the Boston Latin School probably never had more than fifty boys in attendance. This might be taken to indicate that such schools were negligible in importance and have been emphasized out of proportion to their usefulness. In considering this question, one should remember that they were never intended to provide for leaders in general but only for the minister and the schoolmaster. Such schools, even though they had, in all probability, a small enrollment, furnished enough leaders of that particular

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1642–1649, p. 203.

type. Indeed, it would not be far from the truth to say that these schools provided more adequately for the leaders that it was their function to produce than our own high schools do now for the leaders that they should produce.

6. Character of Training Provided.—It may be well to inquire into the way in which these schools attempted to select and train future leaders. They were, of course, merely English schools transplanted to American soil. The general character of the training is well seen from the following quotations:

THE BOOKS STUDIED

The books studied the first year were Cheever's Accidence, a small Nomenclature [*sic*], and Corderius' Colloquies. The Second year, AEsop's Fables, and towards the close of it, Eutropius and Ward's Lilly's Grammar. The third year Eutropius and Grammar continued, and a book commenced called Clarke's Introduction. In the fourth year, the fourth form, as well as the fifth and sixth, being furnished with desks, commenced "making Latin," as the phrase was, and to the books used by the third form Caesar's Commentaries were added. After this were read in succession by the three upper classes, Tully's Orations, the first books of the Aeneid, and the highest classes dipped into Xenophon and Homer.[1]

REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION TO HARVARD COLLEGE

When any schollar is able to understand Tully, or such like classicall Latine author extempore, and make and speake true Latine in verse and prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte;* and decline perfectly the paradigim's of nounes and verbes in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.[2]

The typical Latin grammar school was a school for boys which aimed to provide such training in Latin and Greek and a smattering of mathematics as was required for entrance to Harvard College. To that narrow curriculum of Latin and Greek were added a dash of mental and moral philosophy and some attempt

[1] Jenks, Henry F., *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School* (with a Historical Sketch), p. 36.

[2] "New England's First Fruits," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year* 1792, Vol. I, Series I, p. 243.

to train in moral conduct. So far as the Latin grammar school was concerned, this was the sum total of the preparation for leadership. Few, if any, such schools had facilities for playgrounds such as are relied upon to provide much of the training in leadership at the Great English Public Schools of today. Indeed, the Puritans considered sports demoralizing and effeminate rather than helpful to the development of desirable traits of character. These schools probably served far better as agencies for the *selection* of a certain type of leader than for his *training* after selection. It was in Harvard College that the definite training for leadership in the ministry was given. The school curriculum contained very little that was or could be of practical value to the leader in any other line, except the little Latin needed by the lawyer and the physician. The study of mental and moral philosophy, evidences of Christianity, and other subjects of the same nature may be properly considered as constituting a very important part of the general training for the leaders of the time. It may be freely admitted that a certain amount of general culture, useful as a general training, was obtained through the study of Latin and Greek. All of the studies may have been helpful as an underlying basis for character. But so far as a knowledge of laws, of statecraft, of history, is concerned, the school provided its students with practically none.

7. Practical Training of Leaders.—Leadership training there was of the nature of an apprenticeship served in field and forest, through daily association with elders, through the constant practice in responsibility, through daily contact with the grim necessities of life, its duties and its dangers. But the schools and colleges were not thought of as the means by which such definite training should be given. It is entirely possible that this was a far more effective method of training for leadership than could have been afforded by the schools.

8. Wide Selection of Leaders.—It was the common understanding that the Latin grammar schools were intended only for the select few, the worthy boys, those who showed signs of future leadership. But their range was not unduly restricted.

To be sure, all schools were fee schools, and presumably only the boys of well-to-do parents could attend. But the early colonists did not make the mistake of thinking that leaders could be found only in the ranks of the well-to-do. In practically every school there was definite provision for paying the tuition of poor boys whose parents could not afford the fees set by the school. The plan used in Salem, Massachusetts, may be taken as typical, even though the provision may not have been so adequate in the majority of cases.

The Salem Grammar School, in common with the other New England Colonial grammar schools, was supported partly by tuition and partly either from a town rate or from funds set apart for this purpose. For example, in 1699 the salary of Mr. Emerson, the schoolmaster, was to be £50. The sum was made up as follows[1]:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rydall Side	22	5	6
Baker's Island	3		
Misery Islands	3		
Beverly Ferry	6		
Interest on William Brown's legacy of £50	3		
Interest on Joseph Brown's legacy of £50	3		
Marblehead Ferry	...	18	
Total	£41	3	6

This left £8 16*s.* 6*d.* to be made up from tuition. A sliding scale of tuition was established. If there were 20 scholars or less, each scholar was to pay 3*s.* per quarter. When there were 25 scholars, the tuition fee per quarter was to be 2*s.* 6*d.*; when the enrollment reached 30, the tuition was 2*s.*; and when it arrived at forty, the tuition was to be 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

Our chief interest here is in the two legacies of £50 each from William and Joseph Brown. The principal of these legacies was kept intact, and the interest used for decreasing the cost of tuition. While there is no specific reference in the records of this date to indicate that this money was used in part or as a whole to pay the tuition of poor boys, it seems probable that such

[1] Felt, Joseph B., *Annals of Salem*, Vol. I, p. 439.

a plan was in operation. As early as 1644, a definite plan was made in the town meeting to provide by a town tax the tuition necessary for such as were too poor to pay tuition.

AT A GENERALL TOWNE MEETING HELD THE 30TH OF THE 7TH MONETH, 1644

Ordered that a note be published one the next Lecture day that such as haue children to be kept at schoole would bring in their names & what they will giue for one whole yeare & Also That if any poore body hath children or a childe to be put to schoole & not able to pay for their schooling That the Towne will pay it by a rate.[1]

In 1729, this same intention is clearly shown in the terms of a bequest of £240 by Samuel Brown:

Samuel Brown grants unto the Grammar school in Salem, to be kept in or near the town house street, £120 passable money, to make the same a free school, or towards the educating of eight or ten poor scholars, yearly, in the Grammar learning or the mathematics, viz: the mariner's art; the interest thereof to be improved only for that end forever, as a committee, chosen by the town of Salem, for the taking care of said school may direct, with the advice of the minister or ministers of the first church and myself or children or two of the chief of their posterity.

Of the remaining £120, he gave £60 to the English school so that its income might be applied "towards making the same a free school, or for learning six poor scholars"; and a like sum "to a woman's school, the interest thereof to be yearly improved for the learning of six very poor children their letters and to spell and read, who may be sent to said school six or seven months in the year."[2]

This general feeling that the "poor but worthy" boys should have an opportunity for education was also evidenced by the contributions very generally taken up by the towns to maintain "poor scholars" at Harvard. In Salem, the first of these was recorded in the minutes of the town meeting in 1645. In 1680, Salem sent to Harvard for the same purpose £130 2*s.* 3*d.*[3]

[1] *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. IX—Second Series, Vol. I, p. 132.

[2] Felt, Joseph B., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 445.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 435.

CITATION RELATIVE TO CONTRIBUTIONS FOR POOR SCHOLARS AT HARVARD COLLEGE, 1645

1645. Ordered and agreed, that all such as God stirres vp their hearts to contribute to the aduancement of learning, for the maintaynninge of poore skollers at the Colledge, at Cambridge, that they bring into Mr. Price, within one moneth, what they please to giue, and to enter their names with Mr. Fogge and what they giue or contribute.[1]

It is here that we find the beginning of the conviction now so apparent in America that there should be no class distinction in leadership selection. We must look for our future leaders in all classes, among the poor as well as the rich, among the sons of the unskilled worker as well as among the children of the business and professional men. This belief originated among the colonists partly from their religious conviction of the essential equality of all men, even though this equality did not extend to the Indian, the Quaker, or the Baptist! It was doubtless partly due to the vicissitudes of life in the wilderness. Men who were rich and powerful in England, and hence were looked upon as belonging to a superior class, were not infrequently without wealth or position in the new country. Often men who had had no advantages in England by the force of their character and their enterprise became prominent in the colony. Such changes tended to upset the old social order and contributed to the idea that leaders were to be recruited from all ranks and conditions of men.

9. Other Sources of Leaders Needed.—Important as these schools undoubtedly were for the selection of certain types of leaders, they became less so as the need arose for other types of leaders. The conflicts with the Indians demanded military leaders; the conquest of the wilderness required still other types. As immediate and daily hazards to life and property became less pressing, and as the population increased, trade, commerce, and industry became important, and the professions of law and medicine began to equal, if not to overshadow, that of the

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 430.

ministry. Since the subject matter of the schools and colleges was relatively of far less direct value to those who gave their lives to business and commerce and to law and medicine, it became necessary to provide other means for such training. Hence the schools became relatively less effective for the training of the types of leaders that were demanded than they had previously been. This is merely the common experience of every pioneer nation. It does show, however, in a striking way the fact that altered conditions demand different types of leaders and that the schools, as constituted, could not provide for all the leaders necessary.

If we carry the study to the beginning of the nineteenth century, this tendency to recruit leaders from all ranks and conditions of men will be still more apparent. From 1800 to 1825, so important had leadership in commerce and industry, in law and medicine become that the minister was comparatively overshadowed. In the meantime, the Latin grammar school had continued along the old lines and, while still important, had by no means developed so rapidly as might have been expected. At the same time, the English schools and, in seaport towns, the writing and reckoning schools had greatly increased in numbers—so much, in fact, as entirely to overshadow the Latin grammar schools. This development was largely due to the need for training leaders in commerce. The tendency toward the development of facilities for training leaders other than the minister is also strikingly illustrated by the subjects offered in the early academies, which rapidly adjusted themselves to the new demands and, while offering training in Latin and Greek, also provided a wide selection of studies in mathematics, science, and English. So successful were these new institutions that there speedily developed a public institution that offered further training to those not intending to go to college. Thus the public high school was born in direct response to the demand for the development and training of a different type of leader.

In the meantime, the colleges, especially Harvard, had felt the same influence and, while the curriculum was not materially modified for some time, its graduates no longer sought the

ministry as the sole, or even the principal, avenue of service and leadership.

III. Summary

The early leaders in the American colonies came largely from the class of gentlemen—the gentry—including the doctors and ministers. These were the men who had been leaders in England on account of birth, education, training, or position. In the Southern colonies, this initial advantage, combined with large property holdings, served to perpetuate in large measure the class distinction in leadership. In the New England colonies, the emphasis upon equality, resulting from religious beliefs, the rigor of the climate, the nature of the crops, the exigencies of daily life tended to emphasize leadership ability itself rather than original position. The initial advantage of those who had property enabled the ones with real ability as well to continue in their position of leadership, but those who had little or no talent tended to become less important. The simplicity of life and the primitive conditions operated to reveal leadership ability among the skilled-artisan class and to a lesser extent among the unskilled laborers and servants, especially the indentured servants. Hence, in the New England colonies, there was a wider selection of leaders and a greater democracy than among the Southern colonies, although here, too, the same tendency to a lesser degree is seen.

In each colony, schools and colleges were established for the education and training of certain types of leaders who needed such preparation: ministers, school teachers, doctors, lawyers. They were very select and admitted only those whose parents were in positions of leadership or those who showed unusual ability. In the South, these schools were attended almost entirely by sons of the gentry, the land-owning class. In New England, while the students in the Latin grammar schools and in Harvard were mostly from this same class, there was a much more definite attempt to provide the same opportunity to the poor boy of unusual promise as to the son of wealthy parents. In large measure, the political and social leaders of all colonies

were educated in these schools and colleges. Leaders in war, in industry, in commerce, while often similarly educated, were usually not graduates of these schools. As commerce developed and increasing wealth provided leisure and freedom from grinding toil and imminent danger, other types of schools were developed in New England, and the curriculum of the colleges was modified to provide the training that was needed for the newer types of leaders. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the fundamental democratic basis for the education and training of leaders was, at least in theory, fairly well established.

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CHAPTER IX

AMERICAN EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP

I. Sources of Leaders

1. Political Leaders.—We have no data on the sources of our leaders comparable to that for England furnished by Laski, Nightingale, and Tawney and reported on pages 72 to 100. We do have, in scattered sources, fairly reliable data regarding the social and economic background and the education of our presidents, vice-presidents, and members of the Supreme Court. We also have somewhat fragmentary data on the background of many other prominent political leaders. From this material it is apparent that the background of our political leaders is varied in the extreme. They come from every kind of home; their parents represent a true cross section of our social and economic life. For example, among the fathers of our presidents are statesmen, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, soldiers, planters, farmers, a collector of the port, a blacksmith, a tanner, a charcoal-furnace operator, and a hotel porter. While nearly two-thirds of our presidents were lawyers or studied law, we also find that others were engineers, teachers, soldiers, newspaper men, planters, and tailors.

When we turn to the education of our political leaders, we find a situation that is quite significant. Table X gives the data by periods for the presidents and vice-presidents. From this table it will be seen that nearly two-thirds (64.5 per cent) of our presidents and 60.8 per cent of our vice-presidents were graduates of colleges. If we include those who attended college but did not graduate, we find that nearly three-fourths (74.2 per cent) of the presidents and 73.9 per cent of the vice-presidents had college training. Analyzing the data by periods, we find a strong tendency at the beginning to select college-trained men.

TABLE X.—EDUCATION OF PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
(Duplicates Eliminated)

Education and training	1789–1808			1809–1828			1829–1848			1849–1868		
	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total
Number	3	2	5	3	3	6	5	2	7	6	3	9
College graduates	2	1	3	2	3	5	3	2	5	2	2	4
Per cent	66⅔	50	60	66⅔	100	83⅓	60	100	71⅞	33⅓	66⅔	44⅘
Attended college (including graduates)	2	1	3	3	3	6	3	2	5	2	2	4
Percentage attended college	66⅔	50	60	100	100	100	60	100	71⅞	33⅓	66⅔	44⅘
Studied law	2	2	4	2	2	4	4	2	6	4	3	7
Percentage studied law	66⅔	100	80	66⅔	66⅔	66⅔	80	100	85⅞	66⅔	100	77⅐

Education and training	1869–1888			1889–1908			1909–1928			1929–1938			Totals, 1789–1938		
	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total	P.	V.-p.	Total
Number	5	4	9	4	3	7	4	3	7	2	3	5	31	23	54
College graduates	4	1	5	2	1	3	3	3	6	2	1	3	20	14	34
Per cent	80	25	55⅝	50	33⅓	42⅞	75	100	85⅞	100	33⅓	60	64.5	60.8	62.9
Attended college (including graduates)	4	2	6	3	2	5	4	3	7	2	2	4	23	17	40
Percentage attended college	80	50	64⅘	75	66⅔	71⅞	100	100	100	100	66⅔	80	74.2	73.9	74.1
Studied law	4	2	6	2	2	4	2	3	5	0	3	3	20	19	39
Percentage studied law	80	50	64⅘	50	66⅔	55⅞	50	100	71⅞	0	100	60	64.5	82.6	72.2

In the period of emphasis upon the individual (noted on pages 174 to 176), there is a distinct lowering of the educational standard; in the period 1849–1868, the percentage of presidents and vice-presidents who had received college training went down to 33.3. Since then it has distinctly risen. Since the beginning of the century, every president has had some college training, and only one, Harding, was not a college graduate.

We do not have comparable data regarding other political leaders. We do know, however, that well over two-thirds of the justices of the Supreme Court and over half the members of the cabinets have been college graduates. In striking contrast to England, where Oxford and Cambridge largely monopolize the training of prominent men, the presidents and vice-presidents come from a wide variety of institutions. No less than twenty-three different colleges and universities claim them as graduates. Only four—Harvard, Princeton, William and Mary, and Yale—claim more than one. Small colleges and large universities; obscure, little-known institutions and others better known; colleges ranking very low in effectiveness judged by standards of endowment, of library and laboratory facilities, of training and eminence of faculty; rich institutions with fine modern buildings, splendid equipment, and well-trained faculties—all of these are equally well represented.

Even this somewhat superficial review reveals the fact that many of our political leaders came from ancestry that might be called aristocratic and that they had an unusually favorable social and cultural background. However, a much larger number came from obscure parents with a social, economic, and cultural background seemingly quite unfavorable, where ignorance, poverty, and discouragement were present. It would be quite incorrect to say that the wealth and position of their parents have not been factors of importance in the rise of many of our political leaders. It is clear, however, that positions of political leadership have by no means been closed to those without such background. This democratic balance has been due largely (1) to the relative absence of caste lines based upon ancestry; (2) to the changing character of our population, racial and

economic; (3) to the varying opportunities for wealth, position, and power open to so many; and (4) to the deep-seated belief that all men are potentially equal.

2. Other Leaders.—No data are available regarding the background of our leaders in industry, art, music, literature, and science. It seems apparent that, so far as the past is concerned, family background, even economic status of parents, has had less influence upon the rise of industrial leaders than upon that of political leaders. While we have no exact data upon which to base a conclusion regarding leaders in art, music, literature, and science, we venture to say that these fields of activity are no exceptions to the tendency shown among the political leaders.

II. Provisions for the Education of Leaders

1. The Colonial Ideal.—We have already noted the faith of the early colonists in education as a basis for leadership and their recognition of the need for the establishment of schools and colleges where certain leaders could be trained. It is also clear that there was general acceptance, at least in New England, of the principle that admission to these schools should not be reserved for the wealthy and wellborn but should be extended to all boys who showed real promise of future leadership. They believed so fully in these schools as the source of leaders that they either set apart some of the public funds or gave largely of their own money for the establishment and maintenance of schools, and provided scholarships or free tuition for "worthy but indigent boys." This fundamental faith in education and the deep-seated belief in public responsibility for the establishment of schools for the training of leaders continued throughout the Colonial period.

2. The New Republic.—The founders of the new republic, especially Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, believed profoundly in education and worked tirelessly for the establishment of schools—common schools, secondary schools, and colleges. The thought of these leaders is seen in the ideas of Jefferson regarding the objectives of the common schools and of the university. Jefferson probably had a clearer vision of the

function of such institutions than most men of his time, but his ideas may be taken as indicative of the general thought.

Objects of Primary Education[1]

1. To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;
2. To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts, and accounts, in writing;
3. To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;
4. To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;
5. To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;
6. And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

Objects of Higher Education

1. To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness depend;
2. To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;
3. To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;
4. To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;
5. To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;
6. And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others and of happiness within themselves.[2]

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education, *Circular* 1, 1888, p. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

It will be noted that items 5 and 6 under the Objects of Primary Education and 1, 2, and 3 under the Objects of Higher Education refer definitely to the function of leadership.

The belief that education was a concern of the nation expressed itself in the provisions for schools and colleges in the Ordinance of 1787 and in subsequent gifts of land and money to the various states.

It is worthy of note that, throughout the Colonial period and well into the nineteenth century, the dominant idea concerning leadership was that it was demanded for the preservation of the nation and for its unification and that schools and colleges were necessary *in order that such leadership might be provided.* The function of such institutions in providing opportunity for *individual success,* while always operative, was subordinated to their essential function of meeting the demand of the state for leaders.

3. The Emphasis upon Individualism.—After the republic had become well established and reasonably unified, a different era developed in American education.

Taken as a whole the age which opened with the advent of Jackson was characterized by an intense reaction against the cultural outlook of Washington, Madison, Jefferson, and John Quincy Adams. This reaction culminated in a conception that America was not a nation at all, but an aggregation of sovereign states, any one of which could legally withdraw from the Union at its pleasure. Associated with it, as a matter of course, was the repudiation of the idea that the Government of the United States should be employed in promoting agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and internal improvements, the advancement of science, literature, and the arts, and the development of education. As a corollary, stress was laid on individual liberty in economy, individual equality in democracy, and individual rights against society. This reaction, by its very nature, meant a dispersion of energies, not a concentration such as had carried through the Revolution against Great Britain, the establishment of the Constitution, and the formulation of economic and social policies on a national scale. It was on this tide in American affairs that were floated the philosophy and practice of public education which were to become dominant in later years.[1]

[1] Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Function of Education in*

This emphasis upon individualism carried with it a still greater enthusiasm for education. But the purpose of higher education, if not of all education, was now conceived to be chiefly to *give opportunity to those who had ability.* It enabled them to obtain the training that they needed for securing positions of influence. Such a conception emphasized leadership, to be sure, but not so much from the standpoint of *service to the state* as from that of *individual success.* The stress was upon opportunity for individuals rather than upon the necessity for the preservation of the state. This is the idea that prevailed throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, and to a large extent it is still dominant. Private schools and academies were established, the public high school was promoted, and colleges and state universities came into being, in response to the same demand for equality of opportunity for all who had exceptional ability. The industrial revolution, the development of science, the demand for increased production stressed the need for scientific training. In the middle of the Civil War, the Morrill Land Grant Act was passed, laying the foundations for the great chain of state universities throughout the nation. This act was passed with the express purpose of giving the poor boy and girl an opportunity for higher education and training equal to that afforded the children of the wealthy in the colleges then in existence. Scientific training in engineering and agriculture was stressed because these fields were thought to be especially well suited to the needs of the young people for whom the institutions were founded. The founders were keenly conscious of the national need for leaders in the field of science, but the prevalent thought was that, if opportunity were given selected young people to secure this training, the nation would benefit. In other words, there was complete faith in the theory that individual success would, even without intending to do so, result in benefit to the nation. There can be no question that it did so result in many cases.

The theory was strengthened by the general belief in the equality of individuals. Anyone could be anything he pleased,

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American Democracy, Washington, D. C. National Education Association of the United States, 1937, p. 31. Used by special permission of the publisher.

given adequate opportunity. Both at home and abroad, this doctrine was insistently preached. America was the land of opportunity, not merely for the wellborn, the select few, but especially for the lowly, the ignorant, the debased. There was in this land of promise a magic elixir that could turn baser metals into gold, a subtle alchemy that would transform the dwarf into the giant, the mediocre into the superior, the serf into the outstanding leader. And the transformation actually took place or seemed to take place; for many outstanding men and women developed merely because of the opportunity given them. Opportunity did result in individual success, and individual success produced leaders.

4. The Need for Planned Leadership.—Since the beginning of the present century, two ideas have begun to dawn upon the consciousness of leaders in America.

1. Men are not equal in innate ability. Opportunity cannot manufacture talent where capacity is not present. The man with mediocre ability can be assisted in making use of that ability, but he will remain mediocre. Opportunity must be given to all, but we cannot expect equal results from all. This has called attention to the need for the early selection of those who have unusual ability and for the development of methods and techniques suitable to the varying abilities of individuals.

2. Individual success does not necessarily result in public good. Individualism cannot solve the problems of the twentieth century any more than it could those attending the beginnings of the nation. Social stability, social progress demand as never before the development of the individual, every individual, but the direction taken by such development must be determined in large measure by the welfare of society. The past century glorified the individual in education, in industry, in economic and political life. The property of the individual was sacred; each one could do what he wished with it; his life was his own to be lived as he thought best. The function of government was largely that of a guardian for the individual to prevent others from infringing on his rights. We now are beginning to see that the individual's property is not his own; his life is not his own. The welfare of

others demands not only definite restrictions upon individual liberty but cooperative effort to secure the common good, and this cooperative effort does not allow complete individual freedom. One of the chief functions of government, national and local, is to organize, direct, and to a certain degree control the cooperative effort of the individuals who make up the nation. Consequently the development of leaders and of a particular kind of leader has begun to assume a position of major importance to the nation itself. No longer can we depend upon the unrestricted, uncontrolled development of individuals, through universal opportunity, to produce adequate and wise leadership. Not only must opportunity for education be given, but there must be definite and long-time planning in order that (1) this opportunity may be accepted by those who should receive the education, and (2) the education may be efficient and adequate. There must be organization in the program for the education of leaders.

5. The Complexity of Modern Leadership.—One other factor places great emphasis upon the necessity for organized effort and extended training for leaders. This is the complexity of our modern social, economic, and political life. Andrew Jackson, the proponent of that rugged individualism still so greatly stressed, declared, "The duties of any public office are so simple or admit of being made so simple that any man can in a short time become master of them." The statement was only partly true even in Jackson's time, but it became the ideal for many years. Cincinnatus, the man who left the plow to help his state and then went back to it after the crisis was over, became the ideal public servant. Today the functions of government are no longer simple; they are bewildering in their variety. Industry, commerce, education itself—all are complex and call not only for unusual ability but for extended training.

> American society is no longer a fairly simple order of agriculture and manufacturing, in which prudence, talents, industry, and thrift are automatically assured places and achievements. It is instead a highly complicated association controlled by a close mechanism of working rules, public and private, which must be effectively observed to assure anything like an adequate functioning of either economy or government.

The opportunities and responsibilities of the individual in this society are correspondingly complex. Coping with them calls for specialized knowledge, and for a strong spirit of good-will.[1]

This diversity and complexity of modern life, in which leaders must function and for which they must be trained, place unusual responsibility upon the leaders of American education, especially upon those who organize and direct public schools, colleges, and universities. Selection and training of leaders must be a major consideration in planning courses, in determining standards of attainment, in guiding the activities of students. At present, college curriculums and methods of instruction are based upon the Jacksonian idea of individual opportunity rather than upon the twentieth century need for cooperative effort in a common project. The complexity and diversity of modern governmental, industrial, and social life demand a wide outlook upon life, a detailed grasp of modern problems. If our leaders are to be made capable of meeting these problems, if they are to be wise and efficient, their education and training must be carefully planned and wisely directed.

III. Avenues of Leadership

As in England, the best example in the United States of definite avenues for leadership is seen in the Civil Service. While not yet so extended as that in England or so well administered, it is very effective in providing opportunities in public service for those who are qualified. Every year the Civil Service places about 40,000 persons in various branches of federal activity. Some of the most important of these are the foreign service of the State Department, the forest service of the Department of Agriculture, and the Civil Service itself. In spite of political influence and setbacks from time to time, the Civil Service is being gradually extended. Many states, countries, and cities have some form of civil service commission, and employ and promote more or less on the basis of competitive examinations. Nearly all professions now require some form of examination for entrance. With the exception of the Civil Service, however,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 65. Used by special permission of the publisher.

there are practically no career ladders worked out by which an individual after he is admitted can secure the advancement that merit deserves.

In spite of this lack of definite, organized avenues by which young people may attain leadership and by which the state may secure the benefit of their service, America still is a land of promise. Young men and young women with ability, drive, and character, even though their resources are small, have abundant opportunity not only to secure education and training but to work up to positions of influence and leadership in almost every line of service.

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CHAPTER X

LEADERSHIP AND THE EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

I. The Present Situation

A. The Growth of Secondary Schools and Colleges

1. Causes.—The deep-seated faith in universal education as a means of solving individual and social problems, the increased per capita wealth that has made further education possible for thousands, the rapid increase in the speed of production that has prevented young people in increasing numbers from entering occupational life have resulted in an astounding, even appalling, increase in the number attending our secondary schools and colleges.

2. Extent of Growth.—Tables XI to XIV give the data as furnished by the U. S. Office of Education.[1] In Table XI, we see that the number of students in secondary schools increased from 357,813 in 1890 to 6,090,749 in 1934. The percentage of the total population of the United States enrolled in secondary schools was 0.32 in 1890, and in 1934 it was 4.48. The number enrolled in normal schools, teachers colleges, and colleges and universities (excluding secondary students) increased from 156,756 in 1890 to 1,055,360 in 1934. (It will be noted that there was a drop of about 100,000 in enrollment in the higher institutions from 1932 to 1934.) If we add to these numbers those who were in attendance in private, commercial, and business schools, we find in 1934 a total of 7,248,395 students enrolled in schools of secondary grade and above. In addition to these, there were 1,212,018 pupils attending the seventh and eighth

[1] U. S. Office of Education, Statistical Survey of Education 1933–1934, *Bulletin* 2, 1935.

TABLE XI.—ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS, SECONDARY AND HIGHER[1]

Types of school	1890	1900	1910	1915	1920	1930	1932	1934
Public high schools	202,963	519,251	915,061	1,328,984	2,199,389	4,399,422	5,140,021	5,669,156
Private high schools	94,321	110,797	117,400	155,044	213,920	341,158	403,415	360,092
Preparatory schools in colleges and universities	51,749	56,285	66,042	67,440	59,309	47,309	33,750	24,703
Secondary students in normal schools	8,170	8,570	12,890	13,504	22,058	11,978	15,686	36,798
Total secondary students	357,813	695,903	1,111,393	1,564,972	2,494,676	4,799,867	5,592,872	6,090,749
Normal schools and teachers colleges (excluding secondary students)	34,814	69,593	88,561	100,325	135,412	176,464	164,360	136,184
Colleges, universities, and professional schools (excluding secondary students)	121,942	167,999	266,654	303,233	462,445	924,275	989,757	919,176
Total college and normal	156,756	237,592	355,215	403,558	597,857	1,100,737	1,154,117	1,055,360
Private commercial and business schools	78,920	91,549	155,244	183,268	235,161	179,756	102,286	102,286
Percentage of population in high schools	0.32	0.68	1.00	.....	2.08	3.58	.....	4.48

[1] U. S. Office of Education, Statistical Survey of Education 1933–1934, *Bulletin No.* 2, 1935, pp. 7, 16.

grades in reorganized schools. These figures make a grand total of 8,460,413 who were attending secondary and higher institutions in 1934. This does not include young people who attended

TABLE XII.—HIGH-SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE[1]

Year	High school	College
1890	43,271	14,306
1900	94,884	25,324
1910	156,429	34,178
1920	311,266	48,622
1924	498,006	82,783
1926	561,469	96,956
1928	596,655	111,161
1930	655,223	122,484
1932	833,252	138,063
1934	914,853	136,156

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

TABLE XIII.—ESTIMATED EDUCATION OF POPULATION, 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1934[1]

Education	Number	Per cent
College graduates	2,204,000	2.93
Some college work	3,069,000	4.08
High-school graduates only	5,153,000	6.85
Some high-school work	14,285,000	18.99
Elementary-school graduates only	14,049,000	18.68
Some elementary-school work	32,781,000	43.58
Illiterates	3,675,000	4.89
Total	75,216,000	100.00

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

other types of school, such as nurses' training schools and private art and music schools.

Table XII shows the number of high-school and college graduates for the same periods. There were, in 1934, 914,853

graduates of high schools as compared with 43,731 in 1890. College graduates increased from 14,306 in 1890 to 136,156 in 1934. Again, it should be noted that there were nearly 2,000 fewer college graduates in 1934 than in 1933. This survey shows that about one-fourth of the total population of the United States attend full-time day school—30,612,948 in continental United States with an estimated population of 126,626,000 in July, 1934.

Taking a cross section of our population of twenty-one years and above in 1934, we see in Table XIII that 13.86 per cent have had an education of at least high-school grade, and nearly one-third (32.85 per cent) have had more than an elementary schooling; 4.89 per cent, only, are illiterate.

Table XIV shows that nearly one-third of the graduates of public high schools actually go to college and over 40 per cent

TABLE XIV.—PER CENT OF HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES CONTINUING THEIR EDUCATION
(Based on Intention)[1]

Year	Per cent attending college next year after graduation	Per cent attending some other institution	Per cent attending some further school
1921	31.4	14.4	45.8
1923	30.5	13.6	44.1
1925	32.0	13.7	45.7
1927	31.2	12.3	43.5
1929	31.5	12.9	44.4
1933	22.9	3.5	26.4

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

continue their education in some form. The decided drop in 1933 is probably due to the depression.

3. The Goal.—Today, well over half of the young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty are attending secondary schools and colleges. The compulsory-attendance age has been increased from fourteen to sixteen and even to eighteen in some states. The goal to be reached is, apparently, a high-school education for all and a junior-college education for the great

majority. We are providing free tuition, free transportation, free textbooks and supplies, free medical and dental examinations and service. In many cases, we even subsidize parents to enable them to send their children to school. The federal government, through the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, actually pays young people to go to school. This situation is unparalleled in any country with the possible exception of Russia. In the European countries, the ideal is elementary education for all up to the age of fourteen and the most rigorous selection after that point. Many countries are developing special schools for select groups beyond the compulsory-attendance age, but they sharply differentiate the training at the secondary-school level, while we group all children in the same type of school, the high school.

B. Changes in the Character of the Student Population

1. Changes in Attitude.—This greatly increased enrollment has resulted in some very significant changes in the character of the student population. In the past century, when secondary schools and colleges were for the select few, the attitude of students was much more largely that of interest in study; they more often had a sense of privilege, or at least of superiority, in being among the select few who attended these schools. This is no longer true. Everyone attends school whether he wishes to or not. Many students would doubtless prefer to go to work in some occupation, but no positions are open. Their attitude is often one of indifference, even of hostility, to the classwork; few, indeed, are eager to do their best. The attitude of the majority is to do just enough to pass. With the modern emphasis upon 100 per cent promotions and no failures, the situation is worse still. There are few if any standards of attainment for all.

2. Changes in Mental Level.—The character of our student population has definitely changed, socially, economically, and intellectually. While we have little reliable data regarding the average mental age or I.Q. of our high-school graduates as compared with that of twenty-five years ago, there seems to be little

doubt that it is considerably lower at present. Table XV shows the distribution of the intelligence quotients of the pupils entering the seventh and the tenth grade in one city.

TABLE XV.—DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS OF PUPILS ENTERING THE SEVENTH AND TENTH GRADES[1]

I.Q.	Seventh grade		Tenth grade	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
140 and up	187	1.4	40	.5
130–139	550	4.3	218	2.9
120–129	1,403	11.0	764	10.2
110–119	2,477	19.4	1,610	21.5
100–109	2,790	22.0	2,040	27.3
90–99	2,682	21.0	1,616	21.6
80–89	1,844	14.5	894	12.0
79 and below	773	6.1	285	3.8
Totals	12,706	....	7,467	
Median I.Q.	103.3	....	104.9	

[1] Division of Educational Research of the School District of Philadelphia, *Bulletin* 419, May 15, 1936.

It will be seen that 20.6 per cent of all these pupils entering the seventh grade had intelligence quotients below 90. In some schools, two-thirds or more of the pupils entering this grade had intelligence quotients below 90. Of those entering the tenth grade, 15.8 per cent had intelligence quotients below 90.

C. Dangers in the Situation

These changes in the mental level, together with the changing attitude toward the work of the school and the changed philosophy of promotion, have produced a situation that is fraught with great potential danger to our educational and social situation and especially to any program of leadership training. Critics of our schools maintain that this widening and lengthening of the opportunity for education have resulted in a definite lowering of our standards of achievement and that this must result in a product

that is distinctly lower and less well educated than we have had in the past. It must be admitted that, when large numbers of intellectually inferior students are introduced into our secondary schools, the inevitable result will be a lowering of the average standard of achievement and hence a distinct deterioration of our average product *unless our usual educational procedure is radically changed.* Such mixed groups cannot be taught with the same methods without lowering standards.

Is mediocrity the price that we must pay for our democratic ideal of education? Can we select and train leaders and at the same time extend our secondary schools to include all children up to sixteen or eighteen or even twenty years of age?

II. The Remedy

If our schools are to be effective agencies for the selection of leaders, we must (1) make sure that every possible leader has an opportunity for education and (2) provide education and training suitable to his needs.

1. Present Situation.—That we have greatly improved the range of selection of leaders will be readily admitted. The improvement has been effected by widening the opportunities for education, by increasing the number of subjects taught, by our efforts to keep children in school longer. This widening of the range of selection in itself tends to increase the efficiency of selection, or at least is a necessary step in increasing it.

But, when we come to the question of the adequacy of the training given, we cannot be so proud of our achievement. The efficiency of the English method and that in force in our secondary schools up to the first decade of the present century depended upon the rigorous elimination of those who showed themselves unfit or unable to do the work of the school, to attain the high standard set. This method of selection by elimination is effective only when definite standards of attainment are set and when all who cannot attain these standards are rejected.

2. Selection by Elimination.—We have already seen that the modern tendency is to admit all to high school and to pass all. Both of these work directly against the efficiency of selection by

elimination. The result of this policy is clearly seen in the change in the elimination curves in some of our cities.

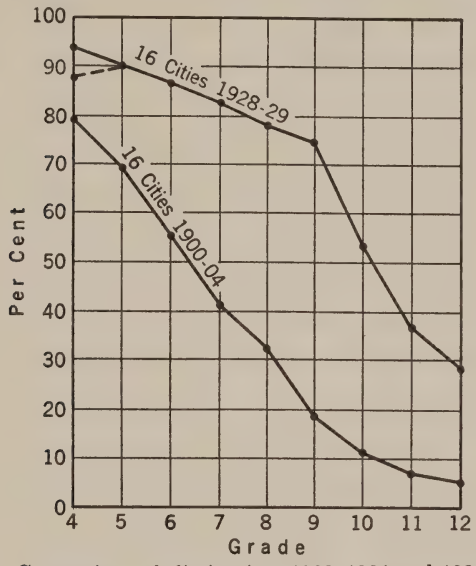

Fig. 5.—Comparison of elimination, 1900–1904 and 1928–1929.

Figure 5 shows this change for sixteen cities between the years 1900–1904 and 1928–1929. This steady and marked decrease in elimination of pupils, especially above the sixth grade, is characteristic of the country as a whole and indicates a radical change in attitude and in educational policy. Pupils no longer must show good reason why they should remain in school; teachers must show cause why they eliminate or fail to promote any pupil.

Thus we see that, when taken with our present tendency toward retention, the present ideal of providing facilities for all who wish to go to high school and college is opposed to the efficiency of selection. The more we get in and the more we keep in, the less effective the process of selection will be if we depend upon elimination as the method.

Furthermore, elimination can never be an effective method, because in employing it the emphasis is always upon the rejection

of the unfit, not upon the selection of the fit. The most severe indictment against our present requirements for college entrance is that colleges are not spending their time in trying to find those who are most fit for college, but are concentrating their attention upon keeping out the unfit. The product of any institution can never rise above the standard of those originally selected for entrance. If the method of admission is not centered upon selecting the best rather than keeping out the unfit, the product will never be as good as it should be. Elimination after admission will always be necessary; it is, in fact, indispensable, but it cannot be the sole or the fundamental method of selection.

3. Selection by Differentiation.—There is another method of selection which offers some hope for the solution of our problem—"selection by differentiation." This term means that we select not by exposing all to the same influences (*i.e.*, making everyone take the same subjects, rejecting everyone who fails, and retaining only those who succeed) but rather by diversifying the offering. We offer many subjects of different kinds; we thus give the student the opportunity to try out, to explore, and, if he fails in one line, to try another. The theory underlying this method is that individuals differ greatly in capacities, abilities, and interests. Some few have many-sided abilities and could apparently be successful in many different kinds of activities. Many people seem to have ability in one line, but apparently lack it in others. Consequently, training should be many sided and of many kinds; it should aim to provide many opportunities in order that all may have a chance to show capacities and to develop abilities. The center of attention is thus selection of the fit or the discovery of capacities of many different kinds. Rejection and elimination are merely adjuncts and do not occupy the main role.

While this method seems to have many advantages over selection by elimination, it has not made much progress. There is little evidence that it has entered into the thinking of many of our colleges the country over. In our public high schools, we have for several years, however, been unconsciously drifting toward it.

The attitude involved in this method is that anyone who can profit by the work is welcome. Each one is guided into the work and training for which he is best fitted. If he fails in his first selection, he is not rejected as unfit but is tried out in another line until he receives the training suited to his needs and to those of society. There are many educators who have already accepted this method of selection in principle, and many others who have, unknown to themselves, partially accepted it. Its implications are often not clearly recognized.

4. Implications of Selection by Differentiation.—In the first place, selection by differentiation involves a variation in methods to suit the varying needs of individuals. No longer can we assume the attitude of many teachers in college and not a few in high school: "Here it is; take it or leave it. You must depend entirely upon yourselves." Methods must be varied to suit different types of minds—the quick and the slow, the "idea thinkers" and the "thing thinkers," the impulsive type and the deliberative type. We must give the help that is needed and, what is of equal importance, we must withhold from those who do not need it the help that they often request. These are the principles that we are really trying to follow in our high schools and elementary schools. They are slowly, very slowly, penetrating some of our colleges.

Another implication that is by no means so generally accepted by our high schools is that selection by differentiation means variation in standards of achievement. This variation is a variation in quality, in quantity, and in time. Standards must be suited to abilities. This involves a radical change in attitude on the part of many teachers. Colleges and high schools are too often considered to be more or less unchanging institutions, set apart for a certain purpose. If students are not adapted to these institutions, they cannot enter, or, if entered, they are not allowed to stay. That is, students must fit the institution; standards of certain predetermined kinds must be maintained regardless of the number of students who are eliminated. Thus some colleges adhere to certain requirements, established many

years ago, with the notion that such barriers will enable them to select those that are fit to attend their institutions. Having thus selected a certain number of superior students, they call upon the world to witness what remarkable institutions they are because they turn out a superior product. It is more than an open question whether their product is actually superior; at best, the superiority is small indeed, but, no matter how great it might be, it would prove nothing regarding the efficiency of the institution.

Suppose that a college should set as an entrance standard for its students the height of 6 feet as a minimum and a weight of 185 pounds and then, when they are graduated, should say, "See what a fine product we have. See what our training has done." There are many colleges and private schools making, with unconscious humor, such preposterous claims as this. They do not see that their principal glory should be in taking varying types of people and changing their standards and methods in such a way as to provide the best education for all. Any school or college should be judged by the efficiency of those whom it does not graduate as well as those whom it does graduate.

We have already seen that with our present methods the introduction of large numbers of low-grade material into our schools will inevitably lower standards and result in a cheapened product. But a variation in standards to suit varying abilities should raise standards, and it is the only thing that will raise them. This process can easily be understood if we study one of the methods used to vary standards, the method of the so-called "homogeneous grouping."

In the diagram (Fig. 6), we shall suppose that A represents the spread of abilities (in I.Q. if you wish) in a given class in high school twenty years ago, and B represents the spread of ability in a similar class at present. The median ability of A class, shown at x, is higher than the median ability of B class, shown at y. If the same methods are used, the median achievement of B class will be lower than that of A. Now, if, instead of having the same standard for the entire class, we divide the class into three parts, as in C, according to their ability, we then suit the

methods and vary the standards of the three groups and *compel each group to attain the standard called for.* Then the standard of attainment for group 2 will be approximately the same as that in *B.* The standard for group 3 will be lower, but—and here is the important point—the standard for group 1, the bright students, will actually be higher than in *B* and even in *A.* The great danger at present is not so much in the elimination of the low-grade students but in the fact that the bright students will do less than their best and that our entire product will be characterized by mediocrity. It is only by variation of standards in

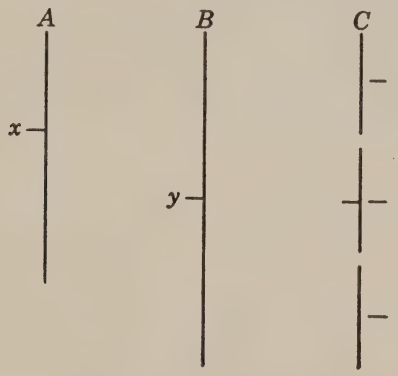

FIG. 6.—Single standard vs. varying standards.

kind, quantity, and quality that the dangers inherent in the rapid increase in enrollment can be avoided and that our democratic ideal of education, equal opportunity for all, can be "made safe for democracy." We must stop lamenting the inrush of what we call low-grade material; we must welcome all who have a chance to profit by the further training. We must enlarge our offerings, vary our methods and materials, and suit our standards to the varying abilities of different types of students. But, in this variation of standards, we must not make the mistake so commonly made of considering standards of no importance. Standards set for individuals or groups *must be rigidly enforced.* Each individual must be kept up to *his standard.* Laxity in this respect would be fatal. Variation in standards set for different abilities and strict enforcement of such standards must go hand

in hand. If this combination is achieved, there will be no danger of mediocrity. Our product, of course, will vary as it always has; but our best product will be better than it has been, and each child will attain more nearly what he is capable of attaining.

Our present methods conceal potential leaders, or fail to discover them, because we do not offer them the stimuli that call out the abilities that they have.

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CHAPTER XI

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE SCHOOL AND LEADERSHIP

I. The Purpose of the Secondary School

1. Colonial Schools.—The Colonial secondary schools were entirely college preparatory in purpose, and their curriculum was dictated largely by the entrance requirements of the colleges to which their graduates went. Mental and moral philosophy and religion were not required for entrance to college but were considered to be a necessary part of the training of the youths who were to go to college. While not, perhaps, designed for the purpose, these subjects may be considered to have been a fundamental part of the training in character that was deemed to be necessary to provide safe leadership.

2. Early High Schools.—The first public high schools were not college preparatory or vocational, but were designed for boys whose parents did not want them to go to college or who could not afford to send them. Their purpose was to give to such boys a general cultural education similar in some respects to that given in the Latin grammar school. Mathematics was emphasized; a little surveying, navigation, and accounting were offered; mental and moral philosophy and religion were retained. This curriculum undoubtedly did provide training that was very helpful to those entering commerce and business of various kinds. The boys who attended these schools were, for the most part, sons of well-to-do merchants, businessmen, and those engaged in trade and commerce.

3. Domination of College-entrance Requirements.—The later public high schools were designed to be a combination of the Latin grammar school (the college-preparatory school) and the English high school (the noncollege-preparatory school). While

many of the public high schools always retained the two sides, the dominant influence was exerted by the college-preparatory aspect. Many schools had only this one side. As the college-entrance requirements increased in number and severity, schools found it practically impossible to offer any courses not required for college, at least in the college-preparatory side. This situation resulted in the elimination of the mental and moral philosophy given in the Colonial secondary school. The separation of church and state necessitated the elimination of religion as well. This restriction of the work offered to subjects required for college entrance continued well up to the beginning of the present century and still exists in a large number of small high schools.

Since the median enrollment of the public high schools in 1934 was only 115 pupils, and since well over a third have enrollments of less than 75, it may be stated with confidence that in fully 8,000 public high schools there is little attempt in the college-preparatory course, in which three-fourths or more of the students in these schools are enrolled, to provide much instruction except what is required for college entrance. This is the case in spite of the fact that only about one-third of the graduates of high schools plan to go to a higher institution, while less than 4 per cent of those enrolled in high school have any intention of proceeding further with their education. Since the beginning of the century, college-entrance requirements have been considerably liberalized, and it is now possible for high schools to offer a somewhat wider variety of work, even for college entrance, since some colleges go so far as to require no specific subjects at all. But, peculiarly enough, this opportunity has not been utilized to any great extent by the majority of our schools. There is much talk of liberalizing the program but little actual change. Schools have so long been dominated by the colleges that they seem reluctant or afraid or for some other reason unable to make any material change.

4. The Noncollege-preparatory Side.—The noncollege-preparatory function has never exercised very much influence upon the program of the school. The program of studies offered has been either frankly vocational, although in many cases

not admitted to be so, or vaguely "general" and has been intended largely for those who could not meet the standards of the other curriculums or who were not interested in them.

5. Selective Influence of the Program.—Any program of studies that is well organized and maintains standards of accomplishment, whether designed for entrance to college or to business, does by its very nature provide some leadership selection, if not leadership training; but this phase is incidental and largely accidental. As is true of the English schools, the American high school does select leaders because it attracts a certain group of students who are interested in the kind of work or life that it offers; in this group are many potential leaders. It does not consciously and systematically search for these potential leaders wherever they may be found and train them after they have been discovered.

II. Essentials of a Leadership Program in the School

To be effective, a leadership program in the school must provide for the following:

1. A means of selecting potential leaders or of discovering who they are.
2. A program of sufficient variety and flexibility to enable these leaders to explore wide fields of human activity, thus discovering, revealing, and developing abilities and interests.
3. Standards and methods that will develop the desirable capacities possessed to the point of maximum usefulness.
4. Opportunity for students to make a prolonged, systematic, and unbiased study of the problems and conditions that they will actually face as citizens and as leaders, in order to promote intelligent leadership.
5. Opportunity for the development, under guidance, of those fundamental traits of character that are necessary for safe leadership.
6. Actual practical experience, under guidance, in leadership activities in the school and, as far as possible, in civic life outside the school.

7. Opportunity for definite training and experience in the selection of the students' own leaders in school and a basic knowledge and appreciation of those abilities and qualities necessary for wise leadership in civic and political life.

III. The Present Program

Even a superficial study of the educative program of our secondary schools clearly shows little conscious effort in the direction of a real leadership program. Most teachers and principals will admit the need for such a program, but few are ready or willing to do anything about it. There are, however, in many schools elements of such a program, even though the staff may sometimes be almost unconscious of their existence. A few schools are aware of the need and are experimenting with some phase of the work. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to describe briefly the situation as it exists, to analyze and criticize it from the standpoint of a complete program, and especially to emphasize experiments and practices that seem to have special significance. Although the name of no specific school will be mentioned, the practices described have been observed in at least one school, usually in several. In this discussion, the usual custom of differentiating between the "curricular" and the "extracurricular" parts of the program will not be followed. This distinction is generally recognized to be unsound educationally. It would be very arbitrary and artificial at best, for what is curricular in one school is extracurricular in another. The educational program will be considered to include every activity of the school that is designed as a means of educating the pupil.

A. The Discovery of Potential Leaders

1. The School as a Selective Agency.—Secondary schools have always been selective agencies. They are still selective in so far as they attract, not all young people but only those who wish the education and training that they offer. They are selective, also, because they eliminate, and in proportion as they eliminate, those who enter but do not make satisfactory progress in the work

offered or who, for one reason or another, do not adjust themselves to the school. As has been noted in Chapter X, these two selective factors are rapidly losing their force (1) because of the increasing proportion of young people who attend high school and (2) because the proportion who are eliminated is constantly decreasing. The degree of elimination is, however, still quite significant. According to the data furnished by the U. S. Office of Education,[1] in 1934 the pupils enrolled in the senior year of high school represented only 40 out of 100 who began in the fifth grade; those who graduated represented only 33 out of 100; of every 100 pupils who entered the ninth grade, 59 reached the senior year, and 49 graduated. This elimination is an important and useful factor in leadership selection only if (1) the group eliminated does not contain potential leaders and (2) those selected for continuance are potential leaders. While neither of these conditions is entirely true, yet there can be little doubt that among the graduates of our high schools is found a larger number of potential leaders than among the group of nongraduates. Even so, we must remember that among high-school graduates and college graduates as well, there are many who have little if any leadership ability, while many nongraduates have real leadership qualities. Many factors combine to produce this result:

1. The high school in many cases cannot or does not offer the courses that attract certain types of students who have real ability. It is by tradition, and partly by choice, keyed to those with linguistic and mathematical ability, to those who plan to go to college and to enter the professions.

2. In its discipline and methods, it emphasizes conformity; it gives little room for initiative. It is too often the refuge for the easygoing, unambitious, society-loving individual, who wants to have a good time and is willing to do what is required if he cannot avoid it.

3. Unlike the English secondary school, attendance at high school is the right of all rather than a privilege for the few.

[1] Biennial Survey of Secondary Education in the U. S., 1933–1934, Statistical Summary of Education, U. S. Office of Education *Bulletin* No. 2, p. 13, 1935.

2. The Selection of Specialized Types of Leaders.—However, the very fact that the high school emphasizes certain kinds of ability makes it, or may make it, an effective agency for the selection of some specific types of leaders: the scholastic leader, the writer, the scientist, the philosopher, the leader in linguistics. In its curriculum and methods, it selects political leaders and other types of leaders who influence others directly only in so far as scholastic ability is correlated with this type of leadership ability. Such a correlation does exist, as was pointed out in Chapter II, but it is by no means high enough to be relied upon as a selective agency. Other traits are at least equally important. The capacity to lead others, to secure their cooperation in enterprises that they come to think desirable may, indeed, be revealed even in the work of the classroom if the proper methods are employed. The trouble is that they are usually not employed. The medium in which this type of ability is most likely to reveal itself is the life of the school outside the classroom, the student clubs, the student government, and athletics. But these are too often regarded as necessary evils or, at most, as adjuncts to the school; they are not definitely and consciously organized as a part of the educational program, still less as a medium for the discovery and development of leadership ability.

3. Variety of Courses.—The picture thus presented, while still true of our high schools as a whole, by no means represents them at their best. Many high schools are offering a wide variety of courses. In addition to the usual college preparatory and commercial courses, we find courses in music and art, not merely as optional work but as major subjects leading to graduation. There are courses in journalism, in creative writing, in dramatics and specialized courses in aviation and various types of industrial work. These offer opportunities for the exploration of interests, the discovery of special talents, and the development of skills and abilities necessary for leadership in these lines.

4. Student Activities.—The number and variety of clubs is very great; they cover practically every type of activity. They not only attract pupils of varying abilities, interests, and capacities but in many cases reveal abilities that have not appeared in

the regular work. Their organization is often not so effective for the selection of leaders as it should be. For one thing, the clubs that pupils join do not always represent their choice or their need. The usual method of organizing them is to have each student give his choice of clubs in order of preference. There are only a limited number of clubs, often only one, of a given kind. If the one that represents his first choice is full, the student is placed in the one of his second choice, and so on. Again, the choice of clubs by pupils is often not a guided choice and is based upon the popularity of the sponsor or on the presence of some friend rather than upon the pupil's need for the club. Teachers are usually assigned as sponsors of clubs, either arbitrarily to fill the positions or on the basis of interest expressed by the teacher and not according to actual ability to administer the work. Clubs need internal organization and guidance if they are to be effective. They should allow for a large measure of freedom to the members but should not be allowed to develop into mere social groups with no purpose except "roughhouse." Some schools are experimenting with devices for discovering potential abilities and needs. They utilize the students themselves in the search for abilities. Clubs are organized on the basis of abilities and needs thus revealed, as opposed to the usual plan of distributing pupils in clubs already organized regardless of the character of their needs.

Another weakness of the system of student organizations is that abilities revealed or discovered in club activities are not made matters of record on a cumulative card. The recording of abilities thus revealed is of very great importance in any leadership program. Some of the more recent cumulative records provide for outside interests and for comments on abilities and interests revealed, but even these are by no means sufficiently definite.

5. Methods of Instruction.—The methods used in an increasing number of schools emphasize cooperative effort, group action, instead of the usual stereotyped question-and-answer, recitative method. Frequently an enterprise or project or unit is selected, often with the cooperation of the pupils, and the class divided

into small groups, each responsible for a definite part of the project. There is a committee of pupils in charge of the project as a whole, and a chairman for each group as well. Under the guidance of the teacher, these officers are responsible for the organization of the project and its parts. Work is distributed to groups and to members within groups on the basis of the ability and interests of the pupil. Such a plan is well calculated to reveal not only special interests and abilities but also the ability to organize and secure the cooperation of a group in a common enterprise.

6. Student Government.—The school activity that is most frequently mentioned in connection with leadership selection and training, both in this country and in England, is student government, or the various schemes by which the students cooperate in the government of the school. A great variety of plans is in operation. Some are very simple and do not involve even formal election of officers; others are extremely complicated and attempt to duplicate or copy the city, state, or national type of organization. In contrast with the practice in English schools, especially the boys' schools, where the officers—prefects—are selected by the headmaster and the housemaster, our schools always have some form of election by the students themselves. In very few schools is the selection entirely free; in most cases, it is definitely restricted in some way. Sometimes the principal or the faculty proposes a list of students who are eligible for office and from which nominations may be made. Or a student committee may make the initial selection of potential candidates, while the principal or faculty may eliminate any whom they consider undesirable. Most schools formulate and publish eligibility rules for officers. Good scholastic and citizenship standing are required. Usually the president, at least, must be from the senior class.

The majority of student councils have written constitutions under which they operate and which give in detail the duties and responsibilities of officers and the functions of the council itself. The degree of responsibility placed on student organizations varies widely. In a few schools, they are merely instruments or puppets who carry out the plans of the principal; in others, they

actually assume charge of 75 per cent of the conduct and discipline of the school. For the most part, the responsibility is very real, and the council is a decidedly important factor in the life of the school. An institution that is not uncommon is the school court, with judges, juries, and attorneys, before which students are brought and tried for offenses varying from unbecoming conduct to failure in schoolwork. In one school, the council has definite responsibility for maintaining scholarship and attendance. In order to graduate, each student must not only complete twenty scholastic credits or units of work a year but also have annually 100 honor credits. At the beginning of each year, 100 honor credits are arbitrarily given to everyone. The student may increase this number by meritorious conduct, by definite service in council or in clubs, or by high scholastic attainment. His credits may be reduced for bad conduct, for unexcused tardiness or absence, or for poor work. If his credits fall below 85, he is brought before the council and warned; if below 75, his parents are notified; if under 60, he is recommended to the principal for suspension.

The officers chosen by the students are, for better or worse, real leaders. Since they are usually elected twice a year, there is considerable opportunity in the course of the school career for many students to be selected. But the officers of student government are not the only leaders in the school. There are important committees with chairmen selected by the officers. In addition, each club has officers chosen by the club members. It is not unusual for a school of 1,500 pupils to have selected in the course of a year 500 or more officers. Thus, in the three or four years of the course, there is, theoretically at least, good opportunity for discovering and selecting those who are leaders. A few principals have adopted an interesting device, in the belief that elections by students, as by adults, may not always result in the choice of the best or may even fail to elect some outstanding person. Certain important duties or positions are reserved and filled by arbitrary appointment by the principal himself. He is thus able to utilize the leadership ability of rejected candidates or of those not nominated.

In passing, it should be emphasized that, in school politics as in local, state, and national politics, there may be leaders who exercise their influence without ever running for office. They may be, and often are, the managing, directing force behind the elections.

7. Athletics.—The various athletic teams also offer opportunity for the selection of leaders. Every team has its captain and manager, usually elected by the members of the team.

8. Distribution of Leadership Opportunities.—The proper and equitable distribution of leadership opportunities within schools has proved to be a very difficult problem. If there is no regulation, a few outstanding students will carry off the major responsibilities and opportunities. To avoid this situation, most schools have adopted some kind of point system. Each office or position carries with it a certain number of points and no one person is allowed to have more than a fixed number of points. For example, membership on an athletic team or a debating team counts one point; the position of captain or president counts five. Membership on the student council counts five, and president of the council, ten or fifteen. No student may have in any one term more than twenty to twenty-five points.

9. Selection of Leaders in English and American Schools.—It will be seen that the American high school provides a much larger opportunity for the selection of leaders in school activities than does the English secondary school. It is apparent also (1) that considerably greater initiative and responsibility for the selection of leaders are placed upon the students themselves and (2) that on the whole somewhat more real responsibility is delegated to the leaders chosen.

10. Weak Spots in the Program.—While the system is admirable and, at its best, quite effective, far too little time and effort are spent by the principal and the faculty in the careful study, by observation and by testing, of students who may have leadership ability, but who for some reason do not show it in school activities. There is seen the same blind faith that, given opportunity, leadership ability will show itself and needs no encourage-

ment. There is also very little effort to record evidences of such ability when seen.

B. The Program Offered

1. Conditions Favorable to Leadership Ability.—Leadership ability is revealed and developed by what the individual does, by his reactions to stimuli that are presented to him. It is possible, although not fully demonstrated, that real genius will reveal itself and develop in spite of surroundings that might be unfavorable for lesser lights. But, at least, leaders who are not geniuses need more favorable conditions. If a school is to be an effective agency in developing the potential leaders that have been discovered, it must offer a program wide enough and varied enough to provide for the development of all types of leaders needed. In Chapters I and II, the basic principles upon which this discussion is based were fully explained. Leadership capacity is usually not narrowly specialized; it is more often general. It consists of certain qualities and characteristics that may be useful in any one of a number of different lines of effort. The direction taken by such capacity and the abilities developed are due largely to environmental factors. Among these influences, the school and its activities are of very great importance. School curriculums, student activities, methods of instruction, and school life not only reveal useful qualities and characteristics but in large measure determine the direction of their development.

2. The Program of Studies.—The poverty of the educational program of most of our high schools has already been discussed. The combination of college-preparatory and "general" programs in the usual high school does offer some opportunity for the development of certain types of leadership ability. The small high school, because it is small, has some distinct advantages: it at least makes possible leadership opportunity for a larger proportion of its students than does the large high school, but its program must necessarily be restricted. With an enrollment of 75 or 100 and a teaching force of three to five, a school cannot possibly offer a wide and varied program. Even large high schools frequently seem to find it impossible to provide for much

breadth and variety in the program for individual students. They often do have many different curriculums, a wide variety of work in the school as a whole, and that is highly desirable. But it is too often true that, when a student once chooses his curriculum, there is little chance for him to take work in, or change to, another curriculum. His work is rigidly prescribed; he is given little chance to explore, to investigate, to reveal to himself interests and abilities in fields of activity not represented in his chosen curriculum. While this is true of high schools as a whole, there are many very significant attempts to broaden and enrich the program.

3. General or Survey Courses.—One of the most important functions of the junior high school is recognized to be that of exploration, of experimentation. In the attempt to provide for this function, many junior high schools have introduced general or survey courses: general science, general mathematics, general language, general social studies, junior business training. One purpose of such courses is to give every student the opportunity to explore rather wide fields of human activity in order to reveal abilities and develop interests. Each of these subjects covers fields represented by several specific courses and enables the student to get some insight into each of these more restricted fields. These survey courses have not developed so rapidly or so widely as might be expected, largely for two causes. First, colleges and college professors have been reluctant to concede their value and to accept them for college entrance. They feel that the attempt to cover such wide fields in short courses is very unsatisfactory and the result poor. They believe that more intensive courses covering a smaller field give better results. Second, the organization of the courses themselves is poor. When they were first introduced, the courses were unsatisfactory because they were merely mixtures of elements of the more specific courses which it was proposed to include and had no internal unity or dominating objectives. More recent courses have attempted to organize the material around the supposed needs of students and seem to be more efficient. They are

slowly developing and are being more generally accepted. Recent experiments in college courses have given a decided impetus to further experimentation along this line. In the senior high school and the junior college of the University of Chicago, four fundamental courses are required of everyone: (1) the humanities, (2) the social sciences, (3) the biological sciences, and (4) the physical sciences.

It seems almost inevitable that schools must, in the future, move away from the multiplication of specific courses and toward the organization of general courses such as those now offered in some of our junior colleges. Some high schools are now experimenting with "core" curriculums, in which one subject or a combination of two subjects, social studies or English and social studies, is taken as the core around which all other subjects are grouped. This, in a way, accomplishes the same purpose. Without some such organization of courses, it is quite impossible for any one individual to explore all the fields that a potential leader should investigate.

4. Extra Subjects for Bright Students.—A plan much in use is that of allowing a student whose average mark is high to carry one or more additional subjects. This plan may provide a wider field of experience for the bright student and often reveals abilities and develops desirable interests. In many cases, however, it is merely a device for shortening the school course and does not result in widening the fields of exploration and tryout.

5. Special Courses.—There has been a rapid development, especially in the larger schools, of excellent courses in art, music, dancing, dramatics, journalism, creative writing, etc., which develop specialized interests and abilities.

6. Student Clubs.—The student clubs already referred to also help to provide a wide variety of experiences and to give opportunities for the development of a wide range of abilities.

All of these developments are very encouraging and point the way for the future. They are as yet experimental and, in many cases, are undertaken without any clear idea of their real significance for a leadership program.

C. Standards and Methods

1. Standards.—The difficulties and dangers in setting a single standard or norm for a heterogenous group of students have already been discussed in Chapter X. The misuse of standard achievement tests has, unfortunately, aggravated the situation. Teachers have been content when half, or something more than half, of the class has reached the norm or standard decided upon. If the average achievement of the class was above the norm, their teaching was superior; if it was below the norm, their teaching was inferior. No allowance was made for the abilities and capacities of the pupils in the class. We are slowly realizing that standards, when set up as averages for a class or group, have little meaning or significance in the education of students. They are important only when applied to individuals. Standards must necessarily vary with the varying abilities in a group. Whenever it is worth while for any individual to attain higher standards in accuracy, speed, comprehension, reasoning ability, and so forth, such standards must be set and maintained for the students who can attain them. If leaders need to reach these higher standards, we are deliberately handicapping them if we do not make sure that they do.

2. Methods.—The classroom "recitation" method of instruction was, in many cases, developed to a relatively high degree of efficiency. It was well suited to the conception of "mass" education and to the idea that the teacher was the dominating factor in education. This method is still the prevailing one used in our schools. In essence, it is merely a development from the time when the teacher's job was "hearing" the pupil tell what he had learned, or "backing the book." Alert, progressive teachers have modified the recitation plan greatly, so that in many cases it is found quite possible to suit the instruction, to some extent, to varying abilities of students. But this degree of success has been attained in spite of, rather than because of, the recitation plan. The old conception has hindered efforts toward individualized instruction. It is now evident that this "question-and-answer," "backing-the-book," recitation method must go. Various high

schools are now experimenting with a number of different methods that give great promise of improvement.

3. Homogeneous Grouping.—"Homogeneous grouping" of students is now in operation in hundreds of high schools. Under this plan, students are divided according to ability into three or more groups. Methods and materials are varied to suit the needs of each group. With many, the plan stops with just such variation in method and material; standards remain the same, and each group is supposed to cover the same ground in the same time. The quick group merely has an "enriched curriculum," the time for completion of the entire course remaining the same for all groups. This is done because of a feeling that it is not well for students to go rapidly through high school and graduate when young. It will readily be seen that this fear arises from the old notion that the schools are fixed and the students must be adapted to them. The only question to be considered is what is best for the students; when once this is determined, the schools, if need be, must be so changed as to meet these needs. Experiment seems to show that bright students not only can profit from an enriched curriculum but can accomplish the work in a shorter time than the average student. Incident to this plan are certain administrative difficulties which are hard to overcome. Nevertheless, it is being tried out with a large degree of success in many places. Homogeneous grouping does make possible the segregation into relatively small groups of students interested in a special line of work and having unusual ability for it. Such groups, when properly organized, may be factors of extreme importance in the development of leaders in nearly every line of activity.

4. Honor Courses in College.—Colleges have for many years recognized the importance of stimulating scholarship among their students. This has been done by the establishment of minimum grades for graduation, or honor points, the founding of honor societies, the awarding of prizes and scholarships, and so forth. These devices have been helpful but have, for the most part, operated to stimulate only a comparative few, for such honors and prizes were impossible of attainment for most students. The materials and methods, the subjects remained

the same for all. More recently, several colleges have been attempting to carry this one step further. Honor courses have been established in Swarthmore, Smith, the University of Wisconsin, and several other colleges. These courses vary among themselves in many ways but have for their main purpose the stimulation and training of the superior students. They use varying methods of instruction, materials, and general procedure and attempt to establish and maintain a higher standard of accomplishment than for the students not rated so high. They have been established so recently that no clear measure of their success can be obtained. They are, however, very promising experiments and seem to point the way to a desirable goal.

5. Individualized Instruction.—Other plans already in operation in some high schools may be grouped under the term "individualized instruction." There are many forms of this method. The most common are called the Winnetka plan, from the name of the town Winnetka, Illinois, where it first came into prominence; and the Dalton plan, from Dalton, Massachusetts, where it was first put into operation. The Winnetka plan is used mostly in the elementary school, and the Dalton plan in the high school. It is not necessary to describe in detail the operation of these plans with the many variations seen in different schools.

The essentials of the programs are two: (1) Each student has a definite individual assignment in the form of a contract between himself and his teacher. It is not a class assignment. He alone is responsible for completing the work assigned, for fulfilling the contract; from this obligation there is no escape. (2) The time within which the contract is to be fulfilled varies with the individual.

6. Units of Work.—Many schools are trying out different kinds of so-called "units." These are, in general, (1) subject-matter units, (2) center-of-interest units, and (3) units of adaptation. Each of these holds great possibilities for variation in standards and methods to suit the different needs and abilities of students.

The center-of-interest unit, as used in the Lincoln School, Teachers College, is especially well adapted to children in the

primary grades and stresses varying contributions of different children to a common group objective or purpose. It allows each child to contribute what he is best able to produce, according to his ability and his interest.

The unit of adaptation, developed in the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Virginia, stresses (1) central objectives as adaptations of each individual to types of life situations; (2) learning activities that will be most likely to result in such adaptations; (3) methods of guiding students in the activities and experiences that are adapted to their needs; and (4) definite determination of the degree of attainment of the central objective, the adaptation. This plan stresses at every point of the learning process individual needs and interests. What is of equal importance, it emphasizes the actual attainment of the objectives set up. It also lends itself well to group enterprises where each pupil contributes to the common purpose.

7. The Value of Individualized Instruction.—In the methods described above, each student is the measure of his own achievement and has an individual responsibility for completing the work assigned to him. Such plans have great possibilities for adapting the work to individual needs. In the first place, the contract or central objective can be and often is varied to suit the capacities and needs of individual students. In the second place, the quantity and quality of work and the time within which it is to be completed may be regulated in the same way. The recitation period, when the teacher tries desperately to discover from more or less reluctant or hostile students what they have or have not learned, has been replaced by a "work" or "conference" period, in which a group of students are engaged in a common project or enterprise guided and supervised by the teacher. The emphasis is upon learning rather than on reciting what has been learned. The efficiency of the plan depends in large measure upon the definiteness of the objectives set up; the way in which they are adapted to the abilities and needs of individuals; and the rigor with which each student is kept up, in quantity and quality, to the standard called for by his individual contract. In some

cases, entire schools have adopted some plan of individualized instruction; in other instances, individual teachers are experimenting with it.

8. "Backing the Book."—The method called "backing the book," previously referred to, is deeply imbedded in our school system and materially limits the efficiency of attempts to train the more able students. Teachers in high school and college too often consider that student best who gives back to him in recitation and examination exactly what the book says or what he, the teacher, has said. Intelligent students soon learn this from sad experience and proceed to do what is expected of them. Originality and initiative are discouraged or, at best, not encouraged; conformity is stressed, and independence of thought and judgment are not developed. This practice is based upon a deeply rooted but false idea that independence and originality are the logical results of a long period of regimentation. Strict, unquestioning obedience is the necessary foundation for freedom of choice and independence of judgment; unthinking and instant adoption of what are accepted as facts and of the opinions of others, of authority, is essential as a foundation for originality and for leadership. This is the meaning read into the old adage, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." While this attitude is still too characteristic of our schools and colleges, there are many places in which freedom of initiative is stressed; independence of judgment is encouraged, possibly even too much; and originality is fostered.

D. Study of Problems and Conditions of Life

1. Lack of Relationship between School and Life.—Our schools have been so concerned with fulfilling college-entrance requirements and developing the skills necessary for certain commercial and industrial jobs that little time has been left for a study of the problems of life and the conditions that actually exist outside the school. In the past, schools and colleges have been more or less removed from life, cloistered, set apart for a given purpose which, it was thought, could be accomplished only if they were

sequestered. In a measure, this isolation still obtains and accounts in large part for the lack of relationship between school success and success in life. While this condition is partly inevitable, the discrepancy need not be so great. Our conception of culture has been too much concerned with the past and too little interested in the present. A study of contemporary problems may be just as "cultural" as, and certainly more important than, a study of the problems of ancient Egypt, Phoenicia, Athens, and Rome. Intelligent leadership is impossible without a fundamental knowledge of the problems of the society of today and a clear conception of some of the solutions that have been attempted in the past or are advocated at present.

2. Efforts at Improvement.—During the past twenty-five years, our high schools have become increasingly conscious of the need for a more definite consideration of modern problems. In courses in civics, problems of democracy, general science, current events, modern problems are considered, and an effort is made to put the students in touch with conditions in industrial, commercial, and political life. Visits are made to factories, to commercial establishments, to municipal enterprises; the film is used to keep the students in touch with new inventions, industrial operations, and conditions in social and political life at home and abroad; prominent men and women are invited to be speakers in assemblies. All these practices are very helpful and do keep students somewhat informed, but they are by no means adequate. So far, we have not been able to discover any way by which the school can be vitally and intimately connected with commercial, industrial, social, and political life, Russia, in theory at least, is the nearest of any country to such a solution. Whether the system adopted there will be equally effective when the goals of the Five-year Plan, of the Ten-year Plan are reached, or almost reached, is a question. In any case, it does not seem possible to adopt such a plan in the United States. Possibly some modification of the Russian program may be developed that will be more in keeping with our American ideals. The plan adopted by the C.C.C. camps of a combination of education and socially valuable work may offer suggestions of worth to our regular schools.

3. Closer Relationship Needed.—There is no doubt that a closer relationship between school and college and social, industrial, and political life is needed. Men in business and industry complain that graduates of high school and college are not well trained in the fundamentals of education, that they are woefully ignorant of modern conditions and problems, that they lack initiative and are not dependable. The schools are doing their best, under the conditions that confront them, to prepare their students for life, but often they cannot find just what is wanted and are handicapped by conditions and restrictions placed upon them by the same men who criticize them for the ineffectiveness of their training.

4. Restrictions on Schools.—Some of the conditions and restrictions by which our schools are hampered may be mentioned.

1. Overcrowded schools. The increase in the age of entrance into occupational life, with the consequent rise in the compulsory-school-attendance age plus a new rigor in the enforcement of the compulsory-attendance laws, has resulted in a tremendous jump in the number attending our junior and senior high schools. Building facilities, classrooms, libraries, size of teaching staff have not kept pace with the increase. The result is large classes, crowded rooms, inadequate equipment. The task of the teacher confronted with a class of forty to fifty students, whose abilities range from intelligence quotients of 70 to 150, is difficult, if not impossible.

2. Inadequate financial support. Closely related to the overcrowded conditions, and largely the cause of them, is inadequate financial support. Taxes are high; incomes in periods of depression are low; and every dollar given to schools is often grudgingly given. As a result, building programs are far behind the needs; teachers are poorly paid; equipment is old and inadequate.

3. Restrictions on freedom of instruction. One of the most discouraging conditions is the arbitrary restriction placed upon teachers regarding the frank discussion of current problems. No one can become an intelligent citizen, much less an intelligent leader, without a knowledge of the problems and conditions of

life in which he now functions and will function more fully after he leaves school.

The overwhelming majority of the graduates of the schools in the cities who enter upon economic activities, will be employees of corporations, including the managerial, clerical, and industrial branches. If in business on their own account, they will be, in most cases, in corporate business or in enterprises to some extent associative in character. If independent in theory, they will have collective responsibilities in trade organizations and will be bound, more or less, by codes of fair practice. Graduates who enter employments below the managerial range will, in large proportion, find themselves in economic associations of some kind, carrying obligations and limitations. Specializing farmers, besides skill and resources, will need the knowledge and power requisite for the functioning of the associations through which marketing and price adjustments are effected. Thus school graduates will, in the main, whatever their careers, require knowledge of their associative obligations and the power to prevent such activities from degenerating into antisocial interests. . . .

Economic science sets forth this knowledge, with more or less completeness. Education disseminates it. The graduates of schools will need it, as certainly as technical proficiency, in the life and work upon which they are to enter. How are private economic associations formed? What are their present structures? How do they function? What are their rights and obligations? In what relation do the individual and the family stand to their forms and activities? If graduates from the schools are to have preparation for the real world of economic practice, education is compelled to take up these questions.[1]

But in many schools and colleges, teachers are not free. Certain subjects are required by law to be taught in the schools; others are forbidden by law. The right of a state to prescribe what is taught cannot be questioned, but the wisdom of such laws may well be disputed.

In common with all other citizens, teachers are under obligation to respect the law; but in common with all other citizens they must recognize that changes in the law are constantly before the public for

[1] Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, Washington, D. C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1937, pp. 93, 94. Used by special permission of the publisher.

consideration. If they observe the dictates of truth when they teach the subjects touching government, economy, and society, they are compelled to present fairly and squarely changes which have been made, great issues of change now pending, and the underlying assumptions by which they are to be determined. An oath to support a constitution does not impose an obligation to condemn and resist changes in it; such an oath carries with it an express obligation to support provisions which authorize alterations.[1]

The great questions in modern life are, for the most part, controversial; those that are not so are no longer problems. Teachers, in order to be true to their duty, must take up such questions and discuss them frankly with their pupils. If leaders are to be properly prepared, no subject should be debarred from presentation and discussion. It is, of course, necessary that the method of presentation and the spirit of discussion should be fair and unbiased; both sides must be given a fair hearing, and the basic facts upon which each is based must be clearly understood by students as well as by teacher. The school is no place for the indoctrination of the teacher's own point of view on questions that are controversial. It is difficult for a teacher to be entirely unbiased, and not every teacher is qualified by training or temperament to do the job well. The presentation of such controversial issues and the guidance of discussions based on them should be placed in the hands of well-qualified teachers, who should then be left free to take up any pertinent point. Semi-patriotic societies, loyal to a dimly discerned past rather than responsive to insistent present needs; pressure minority groups with special interests to promote; fanatical reformers with biased, one-sided viewpoints should never be allowed to dictate what shall be taught or how it shall be taught.

5. Opportunities Not Utilized.—Schools and colleges, however, must accept some of the blame for present conditions. Independence, bravery, courage in withstanding the pressure exerted from without are too rare among our teachers and administrators. Available opportunities are not utilized. It is surprising how much freedom a tactful and intelligent teacher may exercise in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 123. Used by special permission of the publisher.

the discussion of questions of extreme controversial nature. Schools, and especially colleges, are so intent on preparation for later specialization that subjects and topics vital to an intelligent understanding of present conditions are put off for consideration in advanced courses. Problems of taxation, sanitation, labor, politics are deferred until after certain courses considered to be prerequisite for the specialist have been taken. Specialization demands definite, detailed consideration of basic principles. As a result, the great majority of students never come into contact with such topics, and those who specialize in them often take them up from the academic and detached standpoint, so that they are no longer vital realities.

6. Significant Attempts.—A number of schools and a few colleges have taken up the problem in earnest and are really accomplishing something worth while. Courses are organized from the standpoint of the needs of the student rather than the requirements of the future specialist. In many of our schools, the students are far better informed on modern problems than their parents and have a better grasp of the fundamental principles underlying these problems than many politicians.

A simple but effective beginning is being made in some of our high schools by the organization of definite courses or discussion groups to cover the problems that are now confronting, or that will soon confront, the students themselves in their school life and school activities. The topics considered deal largely with the duties and responsibilities of officers and chairmen of committees in the student council. Elected officers get definite and detailed information concerning the activities involved in such offices and what they will need to know in order to discharge such duties effectively. Practice in parliamentary procedure is given, and the functions of student government in the life and discipline of the school are explained. Sometimes even questions of personality difficulties are frankly considered, and suggestions made for their elimination. These topics are not taken up in the form of lectures or "lessons" given by teachers but are free and open discussions by students themselves, often involving criticisms of faculty or principal and suggestions for improvement.

In most schools, these are merely conferences between an elected officer or a group of elected officers and the principal or a faculty sponsor. In a few schools, this work is organized in a definite course within the field of social studies and may be substituted by students for one of the required social-studies courses. Membership is confined to officers elect and to a few other outstanding students. Such a course is a semester in length and is entirely voluntary. The problems taken up in such discussions are not, indeed, related to those in industry or business or politics, but they are problems vital to these boys and girls in what is to them the most important social group of which they are members, the school. This experience should be helpful to them in later problems; in any case, it is present experience and helps in adjusting them to their present life.

E. Development of Character

1. Wise Leadership Based upon Sound Character.—Intelligent leadership is dependent upon knowledge of problems and possible solutions. Wise leadership must be not only intelligent but founded upon sound character as well. A clever rogue may manipulate people for his own profit and lead them to disaster. A stupid man of sound character may, with the best of intentions, lead people to ruin. Such a one is probably even more dangerous than a clever rogue, for "against stupidity there is no defense." One of the chief problems of the school in a leadership program is to assist the prospective leader to develop such fundamental traits of character as will, with his intelligence, make him at least reasonably safe. James Truslow Adams has expressed this idea well:

> In the first place, a leader must have some definite ideas which, whether right or wrong, seem right to us. They must be clear-cut and related to underlying principles or to some philosophy of life. He must take a determined stand on important matters, and for reasons which he can make clear. He may be a Tory or a Socialist. He may be wrong in many of his specific ideas or remedies, as Bryan was, but he must hold to them firmly, be prepared to sacrifice himself for them, as Bryan did when he resigned as Secretary of State, and relate them to the good of his followers rather than to his own career.

A leader must hold his beliefs with confidence, must not veer with every wind, every man he talks with, every pressure brought upon him. We must realize that, whatever it is he believes, he does so with all his heart, that he is honest in his convictions and not to be moved, that if he believes a thing on Monday we can count on his standing up for it on Wednesday. Moreover, in order that he should do so and that we know he will, his beliefs must not be snap judgments on isolated problems but must spring from his whole attitude toward society. He must have worked out for himself, as Alexander Hamilton did, certain broad underlying principles as to the relations of men toward one another.[1]

2. The School and Character Development.—Our schools have always been conscious of the need for the development of character and in spite of great obstacles have taken up the task, if not always with intelligence, at least with determination. Every teacher is, and must be, responsible for character training. Character is not something apart from life, an abstract quality or group of qualities which can be trained or developed in seclusion and then applied to complex life situations. Indeed, the opposite is true, and hence every activity of the classroom, of school life, or sports and clubs is character developing. To be effective, all such activities must be so organized as to develop desirable traits of character, that is, traits that are desirable in the home, in social life, and in business. If the school emphasizes or requires in the classwork or other activities character traits that are different from or opposed to those necessary in life out of the school, then, no matter how carefully it organizes courses in character training, it will not only be ineffective but positively harmful. As schools are usually organized, there can be little doubt that there is, in some respects, a real lack of agreement between character traits required in school and those useful in life outside, especially for the leader. Schools penalize cooperation in the regular classwork, while cooperation and the ability to secure cooperation are basic in society. Schools stress conformity and reliance upon authority. Conformity and reliance upon authority are useful in society but only to a certain extent;

[1] Leadership: A World-wide Quest, *The New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 16, 1932, pp. 1–2. Used by special permission of the publisher.

without nonconformity and independence of judgment, progress is impossible. Since we must depend upon leaders for progress, they should not be trained in conformity and obedience exclusively. Docility and willingness to do what one is told are outstanding school virtues. They are useful also in society but only partly so. Docility leads one to refuse to accept responsibility, to shrink from initiating enterprises, to be dependent upon others. Such qualities are useful in an imperialistic or a totalitarian state but, if carried to extremes, may be very harmful in democratic America.

3. Progressive-school Practices.—Progressive schools everywhere are alive to this problem and have, in many cases, radically reorganized their entire program in accordance with this idea. Authority and conformity are minimized, perhaps too much; stress is laid upon cooperation; opportunities are given for the development of initiative and for the definite assumption of responsibility for classwork and school life. This is more characteristic of our junior high schools than of our senior high schools. While they are sometimes criticized for their alleged failure to hold students up to standards of attainment, it is everywhere recognized that junior high schools do in some way train their students in independence and initiative. The special classes mentioned in this chapter under Study of Problems and Conditions of Life (pages 210 to 216) are helpful in the development of useful character traits. Counselors and teacher sponsors are helping individuals, and the regular classroom teachers are alert for opportunities to assist. School life is being transformed in many ways so as to provide a better medium for the development of those traits of character that are useful in society and essential to safe leadership.

F. Experience in Leadership Activities

1. The Need for a Planned Program.—An effective educational program must be well planned, continuous, and coordinated. It must last until the knowledge is acquired, the interests, skills, and abilities developed that will enable students to actually meet those situations and solve those problems of life for which the

educational program is set up. These requirements apply with special force to a program of leadership. As now in operation, there is no real leadership program worthy of the name. What there is, is not planned, is not continuous or coordinated; it is especially unsatisfactory in that it does not continue to the point where leadership in life out of the school begins. No education of any kind is effective unless it provides opportunities for actual experience in doing the things for which the educative process is supposed to prepare.

2. Diverse Practices.—Secondary schools and colleges are, to some extent and in a rather desultory way, providing some experience in a number of kinds of leadership activity within the school. Some of these plans are halfhearted, rather reluctant attempts to grant a few unimportant functions to groups of selected students. The selection of the students is carefully safeguarded, and the directing hand of the principal is always apparent. Attention is centered upon the danger of going wrong rather than upon the development of ability to go right. Others, and these are yearly becoming more numerous, set aside really worth-while and important functions within the school to be taken care of, by students themselves, with some guidance and supervision. Student councils are composed of students elected by their fellows; they are charged with numerous and widely varying duties. They take care of passing in the corridors; conduct in the lunchroom; student assemblies; arrangements for lectures, concerts, plays, and social entertainments; school papers; athletics; debating teams; and similar activities. They sometimes have the power of punishing students and recommending them for suspension and of recommending others for special honors. Sometimes they function very effectively, sometimes poorly; but, whether they are effective or not, they give real experience in control, in organization, in responsibility for certain activities of the school. Some schemes provide actual experience in thinking through programs of work in advance of election to office. In one school, the candidates for each office are required before the election to formulate and publish their platforms. These serve as a partial basis for comparison of candidates for various offices. The work of the

student council is often very strenuous and exacting. It gives real experience in formulating plans, in delegating responsibilities, in securing the cooperation of both students and teachers. It requires the exercise of tact, finesse, and persistence at every turn.

3. Suggestions to New Officers.—Suggestions are sometimes given to newly elected officers that serve to point out and emphasize duties and responsibilities and give help in planning programs of work. One of these lists is given below:

SUGGESTIONS FOR NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS

1. Think out and write your objectives. Talk them over with your activity sponsor, and with your group.

2. Plan your work carefully and in detail.

3. Make a rule of talking over all plans with your sponsor. By so doing, you will enable yourself to profit by the experience of past officers, which would otherwise be lost to you. Thus, holding an office will be like running in a relay race; you will seize the torch of your predecessor and carry it on along a well-mapped course, instead of going back to the beginning each time and wandering aimlessly about. For instance, girls' club conferences would not be what they are if the officers had not worked in close cooperation with their advisers and built upon the experience and improvement of past years.

4. Ask your sponsor to attend all meetings and consult her as to when to hold them.

5. Hold regular meetings of your group, present your plans, ask for theirs and decide upon a course of action.

6. *Deciding* isn't enough. Appoint people to do the work and ask them to report back to you when it has been done. The good leader arouses enthusiasm among his followers so that they do their work before the last minute. The leader should have the work so well organized that it will go on without a hitch, even if he is absent.

7. Be sure, if you ask someone to do a job, to give him a chance to do it. That is, remember the assignments you make. There is nothing so discouraging as to be asked to do something and find that someone else has been given the same job or that it has been forgotten. Encourage the eagerness of your followers by recognizing their efforts and appreciating their services. If they have not done the work as you think it should be done, make some constructive criticisms, and help them do better.

8. Getting work done is not the most important task you, as a leader, have to perform. The most important thing is to get people interested in doing what they can for the class, the school, and the community. Study your group and try to give to each member the work he is best fitted to do,

so that he may have the pleasure and satisfaction of doing something he can be proud of.

9. Have each committee chairman write a report at the close of his term of office so that next year's committee can profit by this year's experience. Your last meeting of the year will give you and your group a real thrill, if you have these committee reports read.

4. Lack of Continuity.—One of the chief weaknesses in the program as usually planned is the lack of continuity in the training. Most of the officers are chosen from the senior class, and little opportunity is given for lower classmen to participate in lesser responsibilities so that they may be gradually trained for the more important posts of responsibility. The present program at its best might be represented by the series of broken lines under *A* of Fig. 7, while a really continuous, effective program would be represented by *B*.

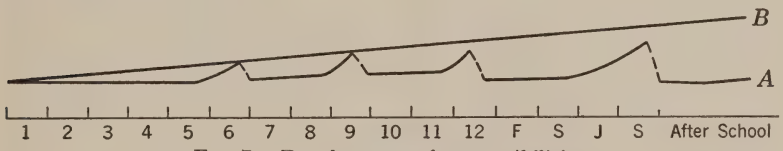

FIG. 7.—Development of responsibilities.

Children in the upper grades of the elementary school are given some responsibility; this has been prepared for, we may assume, by work in the lower grades. No matter what responsibility he has had in the sixth grade, when the student enters junior high school he is only a "freshie" and is given no responsibility. He must wait for that until he is a "top" grader, in the ninth grade. Here he has real responsibility. The same drop is experienced on entering the senior high school and again on entering college. Finally, after leaving college, he emerges or is forced into the world. Here he finds no one eager for his services, no avenue through which he can utilize his abilities, no civic activities in which he can function. At each higher stage, the abilities so carefully developed at a lower level go unrecognized and unutilized. This is wasteful in the extreme. The development of leadership abilities should be continuous. To this end, opportunity should be given at every stage for worth-while experience in leadership activities.

5. Uncoordinated, Unrelated Programs.—Clubs of various kinds, athletic, debating, and dramatic teams, each provide some rather limited opportunity for experience in leadership. The newer forms of coordinated group activities in the regular classwork, already described, also give real opportunity for developing abilities in securing the cooperation of a group and in initiating enterprises of one kind or another. But these, while available, are after all only school activities; they are related only remotely to activities out of school. One of the greatest problems with which we are now faced in our leadership program is that of overcoming or reducing the gap between school life and life outside the school, between leadership activities in the school and those out of school. We have few, if any, actual responsibilities in community, city, or state that we are willing or able to delegate to young people. Even the home no longer has obligations and responsibilities, especially for the boy. A centrally heated house or apartment, with little if any yard, leaves little for the boy to do. He is so taken up with school matters, social affairs, movies, and scout work that he would have little time left for home duties if there were any. He thus has no opportunity to take part in civic activities except as an observer. This absence of real responsibility, together with the lack of continuity in the school program for leadership, produces a very unfortunate situation and explains in large measure the ineffectiveness of our present attempts.

G. Training Students to Select Leaders

1. Choice of Leaders in a Democracy.—A dictatorship, whether of one person or of a group, seizes, usurps, or assumes power, sometimes going through the form of an election but often without giving the people any opportunity to express their choice. Such a government is sometimes highly efficient and beneficial, at least temporarily; it may even be generally accepted and approved by the mass of the people. A dictatorship provides for or allows little, if any, place for the selection of leaders by those who follow. A democracy demands not only men who have the ability to lead with intelligence and wisdom but also an electorate

that will choose wise and intelligent men to be their leaders. The lack of such discrimination is probably one of the chief weaknesses and sources of danger in our American democracy. Our choice of leaders, especially in political life, is extremely poor. It has been said many times, particularly in the past ten years, that our leadership has failed us. We should say, "We have failed to choose wisely"; the failure is in large measure our own. If the schools can do anything to remedy this situation, they will perform a real service.

2. Essential Factors.—A wise choice of leaders involves several factors: (1) a clear conception of the qualities and characteristics necessary for leadership in any given field or enterprise, (2) a knowledge of the persons who have these characteristics, (3) a desire to have these persons as leaders, and (4) a willingness to follow the leaders chosen. To these factors should be added the habit of investigating proposed enterprises and suggested programs to find what qualities and characteristics are necessary for success and of analyzing candidates to find the extent to which they have the characteristics needed.

3. The Contribution of the School.—Our secondary schools are making an attempt, if not to solve this problem, at least to contribute to its solution. It is usually not difficult to evaluate leadership in music, art, dramatics, science, scholarship in general. Special ability in these lines is ordinarily recognized and accepted. In the atmosphere of the school, such abilities bring their own recognition, partly because the school is adapted, in a measure, to such a situation and partly because the recognition of ability in any of these lines is not so much a matter of choice by the students as of approval by the teachers. One condition often operates to reduce the effectiveness of the leaders so chosen; this is the overemphasis upon qualities other than scholarship and specialized ability in these particular lines. The star athlete, the popular student are to most students of far greater importance than the star scholar or the talented musician. Virile boys, attractive girls often find it a handicap to be too outstanding in the regular classwork. There is by no means the same enthusiasm shown by the student body in the selection of leaders in these fields as there

is in the election of captains of athletic teams and members of the student council.

4. Suggestive Practices.—Many schools throughout the country are making a real attempt to train students in the selection of leaders. Some of these plans are very interesting and suggestive. Before every school election, the home-room sponsor discusses with his pupils the qualities deemed necessary for efficiency in a particular office. Often the students themselves make lists of such qualities, and not infrequently candidates are frankly and, so far as possible, impersonally discussed. This practice serves to emphasize the necessity for such a study and analysis before election, to point out certain qualities that are desirable, and to establish the habit of voting only after careful consideration.

In some schools, each candidate is required to state his platform, what he intends to do if elected, and what he has done to merit election. The list of questions that each candidate must answer is in one school as follows:

1. Why do you seek the office for which you are running?
2. In what school projects have you participated? Which ones promoted?
3. What experience have you had?
4. To what organizations do you belong?
5. What are your plans as (president, secretary, etc.)?
6. Have you received recommended grades in English (for secretary)?
7. Do you take bookkeeping (for treasurer)?

The statements of the different candidates are printed side by side and distributed to the entire student body. They are discussed in home rooms and among the students at other times. The constitution and other rules describing the duties and responsibilities of the student council and of the various officers are also mimeographed, distributed, and studied by the students. Student assemblies are often called to give candidates an opportunity to explain their position on questions of policy.

5. Unnecessary Restrictions.—In schools where real responsibility is delegated to students and where really vital issues are at

stake, these practices give helpful training in the choice of leaders. Where the student council is a name, not a reality, where the officers are mere puppets in the hands of the principal or faculty, students may, indeed, go through the form of election, but there is little interest, and the training is ineffective.

Another general practice that, while possibly necessary, still interferes with the efficiency of this training is the setting up of eligibility rules and the placing of restrictions on the selection of candidates for office. Certain scholastic standards must be attained, and the general conduct must be good. Usually the principal, the sponsor, or the faculty as a whole sets these standards and either prepares the list from which candidates may be selected or exercises the veto power regarding any candidate proposed. In politics, there are no such arbitrary restrictions; any one may become a candidate. The purpose of the school, apparently, is to make sure that the best students will be selected or at least that the worst will not be chosen. Candidates must represent the group approved by the faculty. Such restriction does materially limit the effectiveness of the training, at least in its application to elections outside the school.

6. Discussion of Political Candidates.—Not a few schools in their home rooms and their social-study courses even dare to discuss candidates for national and state elections. Platforms are analyzed, desirable qualities and characteristics for each office are listed, and the candidates themselves frankly discussed. Great care must of course be exercised to prevent personal feelings and local prejudices from being unduly aroused. Some teachers have been severely criticized on this point. Here, again, definite limitations are too often set by outside influences upon the freedom of the school to do the things that are necessary to provide really efficient training. How effective in afterlife the training given in the schools is can only be conjectured. We can only hope that it may, in some cases, prove useful. The same unfortunate separation between school life and out-of-school life, the same gap between the end of school and entrance upon full citizenship activities everywhere interferes with the continuity of training and experience so necessary for effectiveness.

H. Summary

American secondary schools are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for a definite program of leadership selection and leadership training. The traditional organization of the school and its lethargy in adapting its organization and methods to new conditions have inhibited needed experimentation and retarded the development of adequate plans. The fixed and narrow curriculums have made it practically impossible to provide for the exploration of the major fields of human activity and to assure to potential leaders the broad foundation that they need for their future duties and responsibilities. The wide difference in ability of pupils in the same class, combined with the retention of teaching methods and class techniques developed for a select group and unsuited to a mixed group, make it very difficult to meet the needs of the higher ability groups and especially to assure the attainment of the high standard of which the leaders are capable.

Student clubs and other activities are very important agencies in the leadership program and are being utilized to this end in many schools. In most schools, however, they are still not taken seriously; they are operated after school hours and not considered to be really important elements in the educational program.

Many schools are experimenting with certain phases of leadership work, but there are few, if any, well-organized programs that include all elements of a coordinated plan. Enough, however, has been done to prove conclusively that even in the present organization there is abundant opportunity for experimentation along the lines already suggested. No completely effective program can be organized by the school alone. If we are to select potential leaders with any degree of accuracy, if we are to provide the training necessary for intelligent and wise leadership, there must be closer cooperation between the school and other social agencies: the home, industry, and government. In this way only can we come to know what characteristics are required for leaders in different fields and so give our potential leaders the opportunity for worth-while experiences in actual social situations.

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CHAPTER XII

A LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

In previous chapters, various practices in the selection and training of leaders have been described and criticized. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to bring together in brief form certain elements, already discussed, that are essential to an effective leadership program. No attempt will be made to indicate any definite administrative plan by which these elements may be realized. Such plans may well vary with the social, economic, and political situation and with the general organization and personnel of the school. The program proposed is not an ideal one suited only to a utopia but one that can readily be put into operation in our better American high schools.

I. The Discovery of Potential Leaders

In every school there should be organized a system of careful, continuous, systematic observation of every child. These observations should be in charge of well-trained, competent observers and should include every phase of the life of the child. They should begin as early in the child's life as possible and should include precise measurements of physical and mental characteristics and growth and observations of his activities in the home, in the school, and outside school. It is essential that they be listed in some form of cumulative record so that a complete life history of each child may be available at any time. Such records should include the usual data regarding date and place of birth, parentage, home conditions, physical and mental growth, illnesses, physical defects, mental and school tests, and school program. It would also be well for them to include notes on school activities and interests and on those outside the school. There should also be registered any manifestations of traits and

characteristics that seem to indicate unusual leadership ability, such as high mental ability, drive or ambition, self-confidence, concentration on special interests, quickness and profoundness of insight, and social ideals. Indication of unusual talents or specialized abilities and interests in music, art, writing, machinery, etc., should be carefully recorded. If, as seems probable, quite unusual abilities are likely to show themselves at an early age, such observations and records will be of great help in planning the development and training of the potential leader.

While it is probable that exceptional ability will usually show itself in early life, we must remember that this is only a probability and not an absolute rule. This probability may be increased by an environment that is favorable, that will stimulate, or at least not inhibit, the manifestation and development of these traits. A sudden interest, an unusual experience, a new subject, an inspiring teacher may be the stimulus that will bring out the trait, the spark that will fire the ambition. Because these traits may not always show themselves or be developed until the age of ten or fifteen or even twenty, the observations should be continuous and not confined to the early years. The records of these traits may well employ the anecdotal form. A favorable environment, constant observation, careful records are the elements essential to the discovery of leadership qualities. In every group of 100, we may normally expect from 3 to 8 who have a combination of abilities and traits that single them out as potential leaders.

II. The Education and Training of Leaders

In this brief discussion, it will be possible only to outline certain essential points.

1. The Comprehensive School.—Prospective leaders should not be educated and trained in separate schools organized only for those who show marked leadership traits when young. To have it so would exclude children whose leadership ability does not show itself early. We are not too certain that the tests and devices now available are entirely effective in revealing such abilities. We do not believe that leadership ability is confined

to any stratum of society or to any certain group of people. Moreover, such segregation would not be desirable, if possible. The abilities necessary for efficient leadership can be developed only in an environment that is normal, that is like that in which leadership will normally function. This is not to say that special attention, special techniques should not be used or are not necessary. It merely asserts that to separate any group of prospective leaders entirely from other children, with the purpose of developing leadership traits that will be effective later on when used in connection with normal children or normal people, is certain to be ineffective, for it violates one of the fundamental principles of efficient learning. Whatever plan we adopt for the training of leaders must be such as may be used within a heterogeneous group of students, *i.e.*, in a normal environment. Of course there may and must be special groups or classes for special purposes, but these groups or classes must be part of a plan or school in which all types of students are enrolled and in which common enterprises are participated in by the group as a whole.

2. Development of Special Abilities.—From the beginning of school, special abilities should be encouraged and developed. The talented child should not be held back by the mediocre child but should be stimulated to do his best by opportunities presented and by standards set up that are suited to his abilities.

3. The Program of Studies.—The program of studies should be flexible enough to meet the needs of pupils of varying abilities and interests. The curriculum should be planned not so much for groups as for individuals and should be capable of modification as the needs of the pupil indicate. This, however, does not mean that there can be no purpose or continuity in the work or that definite standards of attainment cannot be demanded. Especially for the group of potential leaders, tenacity of purpose, continuity of work toward definite objectives even in the face of obstacles and discouragement are essential.

In the junior high school, wide opportunities should be provided for exploration of the major fields of human endeavor. Such investigation will make possible the discovery of interests and capacities and the development of desirable abilities. It will

also be helpful in laying the broad foundation so essential for those who are to become leaders in political and social activities. The provision of such opportunities will necessitate an expansion of the general courses now in use in many of our junior high schools. It will probably also necessitate a reorganization along the same lines of the work in our senior high schools and junior colleges, and a consequent reduction in the number of specialized courses. The type of general course best adapted to this purpose can be determined only by experimentation.

4. Methods.—The methods used should emphasize pupil experience rather than teacher control, learning activities rather than recitation; they should call for pupil initiative, the development of self-direction and individual judgment rather than reliance upon the teacher, giving back what has been taught, "backing the book." Cooperation in joint enterprises should largely replace individual, independent, and isolated work. Better, individual, independent work should usually be secured in connection with cooperative enterprises rather than in isolation from them. Special abilities should be utilized in enterprises organized for the entire group. Standards of achievement should be suited to the ability and need of the individual student, and those who can attain and need the added knowledge or skill should in some way be required to attain it. Persistently and consistently, talented youth should be led to understand that special abilities bring with them special responsibilities. "From each according to his ability." The feeling of individual responsibility for attaining the objectives set up should replace the desire to shift the responsibility to the teacher or the class. The effort of the teacher should be to provide enterprises that demand seriousness of purpose, continuity of effort and, when successfully accomplished, will result in a feeling of satisfaction with worthy work well done.

5. School Life.—The general life of the school should reflect a spirit of friendly cooperation in common enterprises which are worth while and meaningful. This cooperation should be present among students, between faculty and students, and among the members of the faculty. We were discussing not so much teacher

control versus pupil control as cooperation in control and pointing out the need for a clear conception of the proper place for teacher control and for pupil control. There should be enterprises in which there is a large element of teacher control, in which pupils cooperate in activities planned definitely by the teacher. There should also be activities controlled by the pupils, planned by them, administered by them with a minimum of faculty guidance. Other enterprises may well be characterized by cooperation between faculty and pupils on a common level, with contributions by each according to his ability and the nature of the enterprise. The educational program, its objectives, and the general plan by which these objectives are to be attained must be planned largely by the faculty of the school. In many cases, students, especially the leaders, may make valuable contributions to such plans. Student experience, student ideas should be welcomed and utilized, but the control should be in the hands of the faculty. Often students may profitably formulate in large measure the detailed plans for achieving the objectives.

Supplementary activities such as student clubs, conduct in halls, locker rooms, lunchrooms, and social affairs may be more largely pupil planned and pupil controlled. Here, again, there should be purpose and direction. Mere activity, even self-activity, is not necessarily useful; it must be activity directed toward some worth-while end. Faculty guidance should always be present at any time of need.

The government of the school should be neither a faculty nor a student enterprise exclusively but rather a cooperative effort, in which the purposes and ends of government, and possibly its form, are determined largely by the faculty with the cooperation of the students, while the actual operation is for the most part controlled by the latter with faculty guidance and cooperation. Definite responsibility must be delegated to students if there is to be any adequate leadership training. Student responsibility, student initiative, student freedom, even freedom to make mistakes, must be assured. We must remember that the primary purpose of "student government" is not to relieve teachers of burdensome duties or even to secure a "smoothly running school"

but to train students, especially leaders, to control their own activities, to plan, organize, and carry out enterprises that are useful and important for them and for the school. Faculty domination and control are entirely inconsistent with this purpose; student councils cannot be puppets in the hands of the faculty, but must have large responsibilities, freedom of initiative, and real control.

6. Outside Contacts.—The major responsibility for the training of leaders must rest upon the schools and colleges, but their efforts can never be completely successful unless they are supplemented by outside agencies. Outside contacts must in some way be provided; opportunities for young people to be of real service in the community must be developed before leadership training can be really effective.

The inspiration of our potential leaders through contact with leaders in life outside the school is greatly to be desired. If we could, in some systematic way, bring inspiring leaders in business, in industry, in the professions into rather close touch with small groups of potential leaders, much good would result. This idea is emphasized by one of our own leaders, Dr. McCarthy:

> How can America search out, train, encourage and sustain through a novitiate period those individuals naturally endowed to be competent leaders for the future?
>
> I have wondered if a first "scouting expedition" could not be made if abler, experienced, mature men of achievement were brought into closer contact, say, with the Boy Scout movement. Such men could measure potentialities in individual boys not visible to young scout masters.
>
> Such boys as have the spark of "what it takes"—and it is not merely a question of scholarship or leadership in sports, but mental capacity, alertness, vitality, ambition—such boys as have the necessary qualities might then be given special educational advantages. . . .
>
> But if we have sought out the potential leaders of tomorrow—a picked group of the most promising students—then let actual leaders of today teach them.
>
> Pay these active and successful men the price which is necessary. Get them for one lecture each week, if more cannot be managed. . . .
>
> The thing which I propose could be financed. There are men enough with more money than they know what to do with who would consider

that providing such teaching for the most brilliant young brains of America was an investment in the future of America.

I would even go further. I would like to see it made possible by some form of endowment, for the most promising students, after they leave college, to hew in a straight line toward their objectives, or plunge immediately into the life-work in which they will be most useful.[1]

The extension of cooperative courses, especially in colleges, would be very helpful in developing worth-while outside contacts. The resources of every community should be so organized as to provide for and utilize the services of young people in noncompetitive, socially useful enterprises. To some extent, the work of the C.C.C. camps and the N.Y.A. points the way to possibilities along this line. We might do well to follow the example of ancient Athens and provide for every youth a year of voluntary, or even compulsory, social service. The present C.C.C. organization, somewhat modified and extended, might furnish the basis for such a plan.

7. Guidance.—Any effective leadership program must have guidance as its central feature. All the resources of the school in personnel and equipment should be organized and mobilized so as to give to each potential leader the assistance that he needs in determining his life goals, occupational, civic, cultural, and in planning his educational program in accordance with these goals. Guidance should begin as soon as the child enters school; it should continue throughout his school life and until he is able to make his own adjustments. Its purpose should be self-adjustment, and the assistance given at any stage should be determined by the ability of the individual to get along without help. It should develop independence and power, not a feeling of dependence upon others.

III. Choosing Leaders

The entire program of the school should be so organized as to provide training and experience in choice of leaders. From the beginning of school life, classroom activities should be so organ-

[1] McCarthy, Daniel J., United States Must Train More Leaders, *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Oct. 16, 1932. Used by special permission of the publisher.

ized as to give such experience. When the members of a class are engaged in a common enterprise involving division of labor and contributions by groups, pupil leaders are necessary. The judgment of members of the class should be utilized in the choice of leaders, and they should be trained in their wise selection. In junior and senior high school, activities conducted largely by students—clubs, sports, debating teams, student government—all should be utilized toward the same end. In the organization of such a program, these principles should always be kept in mind:

1. The objective is not primarily to have a smoothly running organization but to develop the ability to choose leaders wisely. The process should not be confused with the outcome. Mistakes are often helpful. The success of the program should be determined by the *increase* in the ability to choose wisely rather than by the ability as shown at any given time.

2. Provision should be made for the gradual and continuous development of this ability. There should be no breaks in the program.

3. Faculty direction and control at any stage should be reduced to the minimum. There should be just enough to give needed help and not enough to take away freedom and responsibility. The limits of student government should be clearly defined, and, within these limits, great freedom should be given.

4. Care should be taken to provide sufficient opportunities for choice to ensure adequate practice and training.

5. Before each election, each student should have clearly in mind: (*a*) knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of the office for which the candidate is to be elected; (*b*) some conception of the qualities and characteristics needed for efficient leadership; (*c*) a knowledge of the candidates and their characteristics; (*d*) a feeling of personal responsibility for the selection of the candidate best fitted for the work.

6. Eligibility rules, when used at all, should not be imposed arbitrarily by the faculty but should be drawn up cooperatively by students and faculty. There should be a gradual reduction in formal eligibility rules until, at least in some elections, there should be no such restrictions at all regarding race, sex, scholastic

standing, athletic ability, or even character, except as they exist in the minds of those who vote and in so far as they are related to the fitness of the individual for the office.

In civics and problems-of-democracy classes as well as in home-room discussions, students should get a clear conception of the functions of local, state, and national government; of the points of strength and weakness in their present operations; and of controversial questions and issues. All public elections should be utilized for the discussion of the issues involved and of qualifications of candidates. If carefully safeguarded, actual elections could well be held in the school previous to the time of the general election. Under certain circumstances, students might well be encouraged actually to participate in the election campaigns, not to endorse and promote the ideas of the teacher, but to follow their own convictions. Politicians should not be allowed to place restrictions upon such activities, which should be encouraged if we are to provide effective training in choice of leaders.

IV. Avenues for Leadership

No leadership program can be effective unless avenues through which leadership may be utilized are provided by society. These are needed in every line of activity. The principles of the Civil Service with its impartial recognition of merit should be extended to all lines of work. Public careers should be enlarged and kept free from political influence. In the professions as well as in industry and commerce, there should be career ladders by which young people with exceptional ability could rise by their own efforts to positions of higher responsibility. We should not so much give them positions of leadership as provide the opportunity through which, unhindered by political or personal influence, they may attain such positions.

V. Cooperation

Such a program as outlined is impossible without complete and continuous cooperation between school and community, education and industry. The school must keep in touch with social, economic, and industrial conditions, trends, and needs and be

responsive to changes as they occur. It must prepare students to face actual conditions and to be ready to accept responsibility as it comes. Business and industry must cooperate with the school in providing opportunities for potential leaders to secure some contact, while still in school, with occupational life and conditions of work. There must also be complete cooperation in utilizing these young people on their completion of the school course. Government agencies, who will utilize the superior product of the school, and school authorities should cooperate closely in outlining plans for training and in providing career ladders for those who show exceptional ability.

Every public and private secondary school in the country and every community, even though the available resources were small, could initiate a leadership program that would be worth while and effective. The details of the program would vary with the community; it should be adapted to the needs and possibilities of the particular situation. It would be well to begin very simply and gradually enlarge the program as the community comes to understand its meaning and appreciates its significance. Without some such program our schools and our society will continue to be ineffective agencies for the selection and training of our leaders.

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